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## THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, THE FOUNDERS OF MANHATTAN COLONY.\*

FIVE days after the Half-Moon departed from the port of Amsterdam, on the way, as it proved, to the site of its namesake and prototype in the New World, the truce of 1609 was signed at Antwerp, putting a temporary pause to the famous "Eighty Years' War," sustained by the United Provinces of the Netherlands in their struggle for political independence. In 1568 that war began, so far as regards the resort to arms; for on May 23d of that year was fought the Lexington of the Dutch Revolution at Heiligerlee, in Groningen.

This truce meant much to the United Provinces beyond the mere suspension of hostilities; and taking place in the very year of the discovery of the site of New-York, what it meant to them becomes of especial significance to us in a study of the history of the colony on Manhattan

Island. By it practically the battle was won, for it acknowledged the independence of the revolted provinces. Republican principles put into practical operation at that early day, and however imperfectly as compared with our own system of government, had nevertheless conquered a national existence, the liberty of conscience and of government for a handful of people, with resources so apparently inadequate as to make their revolt seem like madness. This is what the truce of 1609 meant to the United Netherlands. It was a lesson never forgotten by mankind; a lesson finally placed before the world in more magnificent illustration upon the shores of that New World which the national vigor and enterprise of these same Republicans of the seventeenth century aided in part to populate and develop.

\* From the advance sheets of "The Memorial History of New York."

The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of Holland: while it shone New Netherland was colonized; ere it had departed the colony had already become New-York. Its existence therefore in the home

fierce conflicts of opinion,—that is, after heroic action and hard thinking. Holland stood before the world a strong, compact Confederation of States, sovereign each, and each stoutly maintaining its sovereignty, but



MONUMENT AT HEILIGERLEE.

country must have had a direct influence upon men and matters in this portion of the western hemisphere. As such ages usually do in all countries, it followed here immediately upon great and stirring events, after

united into one body. But aside from her political greatness the Republic was great in a score of splendid or useful departments of human achievement. Before the end of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt, Potter,

Douw, Van der Helst, Frans Hals, Steen, Ruysdael, the Van de Veldes, and others whose brushes have made the Dutch school of painting the admiration of the world, had accomplished their triumphs and passed away. In this same century Leeuwenhoek, at Delft, invented and experimented with the microscope. Two mechanics of Middelburg, in 1610, invented an instrument which Galileo developed into the telescope, but which Huyghens, another Dutchman, before the century closed, again improved in an essential particular. He managed to obviate the confused colors produced by the lenses, and was thus enabled to reveal the rings of Saturn to the world of science for the first time. This, too, was the Golden Age of Dutch literature, when Vondel wrote; of her learning, for Grotius then produced his undying works on classical criticism and biblical commentary, on history, political economy, and international jurisprudence. Then did Holland do her finest printing, for the Elzevirs were publishing their exquisite editions. In Holland were then made the best mathematical, the best astronomical, the best nautical instruments. Diamond-polishing was already a secret known to Dutch mechanics only. The Dutch farmers instructed all Europe in agriculture, vegetable gardening, the cultivation of winter-roots and of grasses, while horticulture was a veritable passion, as is proved by the famous speculation in

tulip-bulbs of 1637. "The English writers on husbandry," says Prof. Thorold Rogers, "are constantly calling the attention of English farmers to the marvelous progress the Dutch were making. The population of England was more than doubled in the seventeenth century by adopting the agricultural inventions of the Dutch."

In short, the Dutch Republic was then the "United States" of Europe in more senses than one. She was this, not only politically, but by reason of the inventiveness and energy of her citizens. The Dutchmen of the seventeenth century were actually the "Yankees" of their day. We cannot but regret, therefore, that immortal joke which has peopled Manhattan Island in the seventeenth century with a race of dull-minded gluttons and stupid beer-drinkers. We may advance over and over again all that has just been stated, accompanied by quotations from the highest authorities of various nationalities to show what the Hollanders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries really were. But nevertheless, the ludicrous delineations of Washington Irving have more power than a hundred books written with all soberness in the interest of the actual facts. What shall be done about it? It is a useless task to argue against a laugh. Even Motley's elaborate eulogy on the Dutch in Holland, carried through nine ponderous volumes, does not prevent the generality of

people from looking at the Dutch on Manhattan Island through the laugh-ter-moving spectacles of sly old Diedrich Knickerbocker; yet they were men of exactly the same stuff. In 1610 when the Dutch Ambassador in London proposed a scheme for the joint colonization of Virginia by the Dutch and English, the English promptly declined, being afraid, as Bancroft informs us, "of the superior art and industry of the Dutch."

to be supposed that they divested themselves of these useful qualities and aptitudes in crossing the ocean to these shores. The Golden Age of Holland must have placed its impress upon them also; the men of New Netherland came out of those very influences which were making Holland great. Such antecedents must have had somewhat similar consequences, therefore, even upon American soil and under American condi-



THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

Their political ideas and institutions; their indomitable energy and commercial enterprise; their all-embracing inventiveness and mechanical skill made them, as we have said, the Yankees of their age; and the English knew this, and declined to enter upon any undertaking with them, lest they should be hopelessly distanced. These were the men who came to Manhattan Island. It is not

tions. That seems only an ordinary application of the law of cause and effect; a veritable law of nature. Over against the well-nigh ineradicable impression produced by Irving, we simply advance this infallible law of nature; and we are content to leave every reflecting mind to its own conclusions.

We must keep in view the antecedent circumstances in the mother



country as we contemplate Henry Hudson's voyage in the Half-Moon, and consider the colonization of New Netherland as the result of that voyage. But an intelligent view of that colonization, and all that grew out of it, must embrace also a thorough understanding of that colossal commercial association, under whose auspices began the settlement of the regions around the Hudson River, and who must be regarded as the founders of the State of New York. We refer to the Dutch West India Company. It may be true that Hudson's expedition had little to do with originating the idea of that organization. It may also be conceded that its final establishment years after may have been but slightly influenced by this event, in spite of the agitation and discussion in regard to its erection which will be noticed as taking place in 1614, a result of the many trading voyages to New Netherland undertaken by individuals or private firms in pursuance of Hudson's accounts of this vicinity. But having been established, the development of affairs and events on our island owed everything to the management and care of this Company. Hence its origin, its history during its control of New Netherland, and even its subsequent fortunes are matters of moment to us, and are well entitled to a somewhat exhaustive treatment.

In the year 1604, William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp but for many years resident in Holland, was di-

rected to draw up a subscription paper to be circulated among the merchants of Holland and Zeeland. The preparation of this document was the beginning of the history of the West India Company, and the reason Usselinx was selected to write it was that ever since his arrival within the United Netherlands he had been advocating this great project. He was possessed of great capacity, not only in mercantile affairs, but, as Van Meteren, a contemporary and a native of the same city, observes, he was "a man acquainted with many things, experienced above many others, associating with some of the most learned and keen-sighted lovers of the fatherland." While still a very young man he had gone abroad in the interest of an extensive business, spent many years in travel, frequenting various ports of Spain and Portugal, and there is some reason to believe that he also visited Brazil and the West Indies. But for some years before 1590, he had resided as agent for European houses and as a merchant on his own account at Fayal, in the Azores Islands. About 1591, when he was but twenty-three or four years of age, and with a large fortune even then amassed, he left the Azores and made his home in one of the cities of the United Provinces, Antwerp having been taken by the Spaniards in the year 1585. In the course of this varied business experience, young as he was, it was eminently true as Van Meteren elsewhere says, that

Usselinx had become "well instructed in the commerce and the situation of the West Indies."

And the question was looming up in ever larger proportions, whether it might not be advisable to attempt to advance the fortunes of the Republic and to cripple the resources of Spain in that quarter of the globe. In America, Spain had hitherto been left in comparative repose, while she constantly replenished her exhausted treasury by means of the rich products of her silver and gold mines there. The earliest suggestion to disturb this repose, and to attack her in American waters, had been made to the Provincial States of Holland in 1581, by Captain Bates, an Englishman. Having made four voyages to the West Indies, he offered to conduct thither an expedition at the cost of the province, for purposes of trade, conquest, or exploration. But nothing came of this. There were serious difficulties in the way of such an enterprise at that time. In the very month the proposal was made and considered (July, 1581), the States-General of the United Netherlands issued their "abjuration" of Philip of Spain. The patriots needed therefore to husband their resources, limited as these then still were, in the apprehension that the deeply offended despot would redouble his efforts to regain his supremacy over the rebellious provinces. Yet the provincial legislature took occasion to express its cordial approval and commendation of any

enterprise in that direction that should be undertaken on the part of individuals. Not till several years later however, is there any evidence of such private enterprise. Then, in 1597, two Dutch merchants, Gerard Bikker of Amsterdam, and John Leyen of Enkhuysen, were each separately granted the privilege of forming a company for purposes of traffic with the West Indies. Subsequently these two men combined their companies into one. A plot of ground was granted them by the city of Amsterdam, upon which they built a substantial warehouse, which at the formation of the West India Company became the first house in its possession. Under the auspices of this private association some voyages to the West Indies and the South American Continent were undertaken during the years 1597 and 1598, but apparently with very meager results. Why might not larger results, however, be expected, if these expeditions were seriously undertaken, with as elaborate preparations and powerful armaments as those dispatched to the East Indies?

Some such arguments and others of a more practical or business-like character had been advanced, we are told, in pamphlets written and published by Usselinx; but how early he commenced with such publications, it would seem, can only be ascertained from the writer's own statements. And whatever credit may be due to him individually for having been the

first to urge the founding of the West India Company, there is no question that the argument received its most potent stimulus from the actual erection and incipient prosperity of the East India Company. Such careful annalists and historians as Van Meteren, Aitzema, Wagenaar, if they do more than merely record the fact of the establishment of the former, and permit themselves any remarks as to what led to it, assert invariably that the success of the East India Company was the chief reason. It was two years after the granting of the East India charter, that Usselinx was requested to draft the circular of which he made mention, "in order to ascertain whether sufficient voluntary subscriptions could be obtained from merchants to start a company with a good capital," for trade with the West Indies, or America.

This paper met with the entire approval of those who had asked Usselinx to prepare it. It was thereupon immediately submitted to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, who were thus the first public body before whom the project of the West India Company was laid. As an initiatory step towards its erection, it was a very important and a very necessary one. There seems to have been in all matters of this character three distinct gradations in the public bodies who were to be consulted, and whose consent needed to be obtained. First in order came the municipal

government of the commercial metropolis, Amsterdam. If her Burgomasters and Council of Forty referred the measure proposed, with their approval, to their delegates in the provincial legislature, or the States of Holland, it was almost certain to win the approbation of the representatives of the other cities there, and was thus secure of adoption. If then, thirdly, the States of Holland directed their deputies in the Congress, or States-General of the Republic, to vote for it (and the deputies from the several provinces only voted as directed), it received an indorsement which was irresistible. It will be seen that these various steps, to be noted in their proper sequence, were successively taken in the establishment of the West India Company.

The promotors of this scheme doubtless awaited with some anxiety the first public decision. The Burgomasters and the Council of Amsterdam were accustomed to deal with affairs of a wide range. They had in times past made direct treaties of commerce with foreign potentates, by which special privileges of trade were conceded to her citizens, and which were still in force. And what is of particular interest to us, later in the course of this same century (1656), they became direct possessors or rulers of a portion of New Netherland, situated on the South or Delaware River. In the present instance they determined to proceed with

caution. They advised delay until an expedition under Admiral Van Caerden, who had distinguished him-

self in the East India service, but who had recently been sent to the east coasts of South America, should have been heard from.

Another circumstance, too, made public men in Holland hesitate to entertain schemes of conquest in American waters. In the year 1599 Admiral Peter Van der Does, son of the illustrious defender of Leyden, and first curator of her University, was despatched with a powerful fleet of over seventy ships of war to make a descent upon the Spanish possessions in South America and the West Indies. The Admiral resolved to pause on his way and harass or conquer whatever other of Spain's islands or colonies he might meet with. Thus the Canaries were attacked and various towns taken or burned. On



AMSTERDAM CITY HALL BEFORE 1615.

reaching the island of St. Thomas, off the coast of Guinea, and exactly on the equator, he made an attack on it, which was entirely successful. But in an evil hour he decided that it would be to the advantage of his enterprise to tarry here for a while, in order to refit, thus to be in a better condition to undertake a descent on Brazil. The excessive heat brought on the yellow fever, to which the Admiral himself succumbed. A hasty departure did not meet with the expected result, for the pestilence continued to rage on board the ships, and more than a thousand men perished while they were in mid-ocean. Under these circumstances the design against Brazil was abandoned, and but a feeble demonstration was made against one or two islands in the Caribbean Sea. In February, 1600, the disheartened remnant of the fleet returned to the fatherland, and the incident is only of importance to us because for many years it served the opponents of the West India Company as a potent argument, and contributed largely to delay its erection.

Notwithstanding this powerful weapon wielded against him, and the fact that the Van Caerden expedition proved equally unsuccessful, Usselinx went on urging his project now fairly launched upon the magistrates and merchants of the Dutch metropolis. He was enthusiastically seconded in these endeavors by those "learned and keen-sighted patriots" of whom

Van Meteren wrote; and whom he now mentions by name. Among these was none other than the Rev. Petrus Plancius, who was largely instrumental in furthering the voyages to the North Pole, and who later became the counselor of Henry Hudson. Another efficient co-laborer was Francois Francken, a member of the High Council of State. Through the influence at the command of these personages, such a pressure was brought to bear upon the Amsterdam Municipality as to secure their favorable attention to the scheme of Usselinx. Their deputies were accordingly directed to introduce the matter before the States of Holland, and in the summer of 1606 it was first discussed there.

But Usselinx had not confined his efforts to Amsterdam alone; Zeeland, the "Sea-Beggar" Province, was a fair and promising field for his purposes, and while he left Plancius and Francken to carry on the work in the commercial capital of Holland, he himself succeeded in interesting influential men in Middleburg. As a consequence, the States of Zeeland appointed a committee of three, of whom Usselinx himself was one, to meet a number of gentlemen from various cities of Holland, who had evidently been appointed a committee on the subject by the States of Holland, after their discussion of it. There were eight representatives from Amsterdam; Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam were each represented

by three; Haarlem and Leyden, each by two; and seven other cities, each by one; these with the three from Zeeland constituted, therefore, the rather large committee of thirty one members. They were charged with the duty of drafting a patent, or "license,"—*vergunning*, Van Meteren

prepared, which only needed to be modified, and on November 1st, its report was recorded on the minutes of the States of Holland. The members of the legislature were thereupon directed to communicate for instructions with the magistrates of their respective cities. This having been



THE VVVER AT THE HAGUE.

calls it, which is the Dutch for license—or charter, for a West India Company, and they assembled and addressed themselves to this task in October, 1606. The committee proved to be prompt, for, as we are told by Usselinx himself, he furnished as a basis for its labors a draft previously

done, from the 5th to the 21st of December the subject was again under debate in the assembly; the discussion was resumed in March, 1607, and was then continued into July.

The members of the provincial legislature of Holland had now before



them in 1606 and 1607 substantially the same points for discussion—that is, the same questions regarding the privileges to be conceded to the proposed West India Company—that were finally laid before the States-General. It was highly important that the measure should pass this lower body; for, as has been intimated above, such a project would not to much purpose come before the general legislature unless it had the indorsement of the States of Holland. The wealth and population of this province were so preponderating as compared with the other six of the United Netherlands, that she practically determined the course of legislation in affairs of great import, and especially where they affected the commerce of the country. Before her “States,” all the proposed charters for mercantile associations naturally came, or certainly as a matter of fact did come first, because very nearly all the capital for these proceeded from the merchants living within her bounds. And now, assembled in their spacious hall, they had before them a measure that rivaled in importance the formation of the great East India Company. The place where a discussion occurred that was to affect so vitally our portion of the globe cannot be without interest to us. The Hall of the “States of Holland and West Friesland” was situated upon the famous Binnenhof at the Hague, constituting a part of the continuous line of buildings on

its northern side. Those which contained the Departments of the General Government of the republic, were east of it; the Stadholder’s residence adjoined it immediately to the west. While the States-General ordinarily met in a small room, with only three windows obtaining an imperfect light in a somewhat narrow angle of the historic square, the lofty, vaulted Hall of the States of Holland opened with five high and broad windows upon the “Vyver,” and there hung around its four walls a gorgeous tapestry, representing persons in the costumes of different nations apparently listening to the debates and leaning over a balustrade. To day this hall is occupied by the “First Chamber” or Upper House of the States-General of the Kingdom.

The project of the West India Company halted at its second stage as it had at its first before the municipality of Amsterdam. The approval or indorsement of the States of Holland could not be secured for it. The negotiations which resulted in the Truce of 1609 were also now under way, and these put an entirely different aspect upon the expediency of the aims and purposes which had commended the erection of the West India Company. All discussion of the “concept-octroy” in the legislature of Holland Province ceased, and the matter failed to be referred to the States-General.

In 1614 there was a brief revival of the agitation of the question of the



establishment of the Company. It was the result of the awakening of Holland to the importance of the regions discovered for the Republic by Hudson. Several exploring and trading voyages had been made in the interval, and it was feared that the erection of various weak and rival associations would be as detrimental to western trade as it had been in the case of the East Indies. This had necessitated the erection of the "General East India Company," whose incredible prosperity had proved the wisdom of the measure. A number of merchants, therefore, appealed to the Provincial States of Holland, in July, 1614, to charter "a general company," that is, a national association of capitalists, on the plan of the East India Company; and this for the purpose of trading "on some coasts of Africa and America." The appeal was successful in so far that the scheme received the indorsement of the legislature, in the form of a reference of it to the States-General, which coming from such a source amounted to a recommendation in the estimation of the national parliament. But even before this reference the subject had already been introduced, and there must have been a general and intense interest awakened by it throughout the United Netherlands. In every direction men were presenting measures for establishing commercial relations with the New World. On June 21, a body of "divers traders," from more than one

province of the Union, had laid before the States-General a petition "for the formation and erection in this country of a general company for the West Indies." The memorial from the States of Holland, the dominant Province, where men, money, and merchants especially abounded, in a proportion that far outstripped that of the six other members of the Confederacy, could not fail to give immense weight to the discussion.

Accordingly, on August 25, 1614, the States-General passed a resolution bearing evidence to the fact that the subject on hand was deemed to be of the very gravest moment. It was namely "Resolved, that the business of forming a General West India Company shall be undertaken tomorrow morning; moreover, that to this meeting may come those deputed from the Provinces, those who will request to promote this work, those who act on orders, as well as those who appear and have seats in the Assembly and at extraordinary meetings of other chambers, and at the meeting of their High Mightinesses." On the committee to arrange for this special order of business were placed two men, one named Nicasius Kien; the other William Usselinx. It is a source of regret that some eye-witnesses of this gathering of Tuesday, August 26, 1614, have not left an account of what they saw and heard. It must have been held either in the great "Truce Chamber," or in the solemn Gothic Hall of the Knights,

hung with the trophies of Republican victories. All that is known of the proceedings is that they led to no action; for exactly one week later, on Tuesday, September 2d, a resolution was passed at a morning session of the States-General to make the question of the West India Company a special order again that afternoon. But no action was arrived at then. There for the present the matter was allowed to rest. The country was not yet ripe for the enterprise involved in the erection of an association by the side of the East India Company and to invest the same large capital. And the Truce was a serious obstacle in the way. The artful "exception" inserted in the article on Indian Trade could not be made to apply to the coasts of America and Africa, where there were no semi-civilized states with whom to make independent treaties, and where Spain was already in possession and must be left in peace. The States of Holland, on September 27th were again in deliberation in the endeavor to remove the difficulties, or palliate the obstacles, on the ground of the Truce, suggested by the States-General. But it was of no avail, and some years were suffered to elapse ere it was deemed expedient to resume the subject. Yet on October 11th, the States-General granted a charter to the "New Netherland Company."

While the discussions bearing on the West India Company were an element in the strife that was tearing

the Republic asunder during the Twelve Years' Truce, they were not the main issue. Nor must it be thought for a moment that his opposition to the formation of that Company alone brought Barneveld to the block. It is using language altogether too strong and unadvised to say in respect to the promoters of the enterprise that, "after many years of ardent antagonism, they had to pass



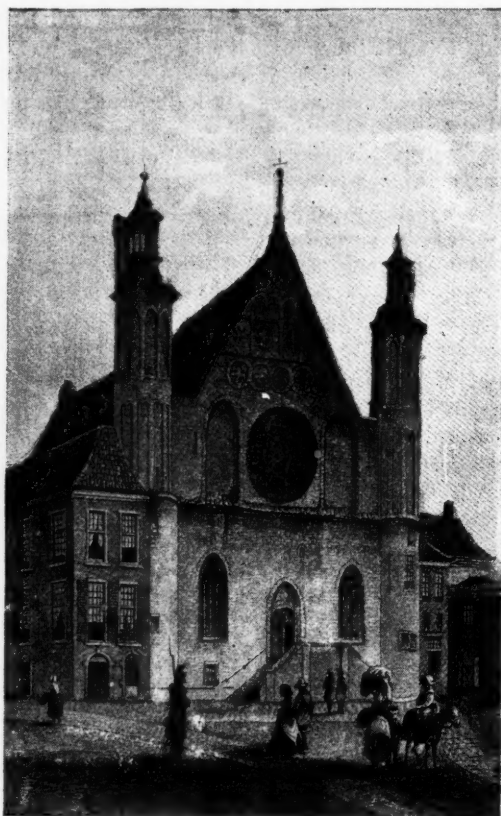
*John Barneveld*

JOHN BARNEVELD.

over his body to execute their plans." Such a statement needlessly exaggerates the situation. Barneveld had stood in the way of the West India Company only in the interest of peace or a truce, which he deemed essential, and that in 1608, before the truce was effected. This great patriot might have been as anxious to establish it as Usselinx himself when the

twelve years were over, and war should appear as expedient then as truce had seemed at the beginning. Still some countenance is given to

cussion of the West India Charter (September 18th), and in November we find it before the States-General. It was resolved then to allow it to be



HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, BINNENHOF.

this extravagant theory by the fact that immediately after the arrest of Barneveld on August 29, 1618, the States of Holland resumed the dis-

referred to the various provincial legislatures. As has been intimated before, but which it is now necessary to understand clearly, the members

of the States-General of the United Netherlands were not really legislators. They were rather plenipotentiaries or ambassadors from the several provinces met in conclave to act out the definitely ascertained wishes of their superiors on every distinct question that came before them. They could deliberate upon it in advance, and exercise their judgment as to whether it was worth referring; but when this had been decided they must place themselves in special communication upon the particular subject with their provincial States, whose unsundered individual sovereignty was in this way continually asserted. The charter for a West India Company had now reached this third and last stage of public action; it was thought of sufficient importance or expediency to consult in regard to it with the several States. But ere these seven legislative bodies could be ready to instruct their deputies in the States-General they must in their turn each severally return to their municipal governments, whose ambassadors they were. And in every direction unanimity was imperative before action or adoption. Necessarily, therefore, the matter moved slowly, and it is not surprising to find that not till two years and a half after November, 1618, did the charter come again before the States-General. Barneveld had then been dead more than two years, the truce was over, and everything was ready for the most warlike undertakings

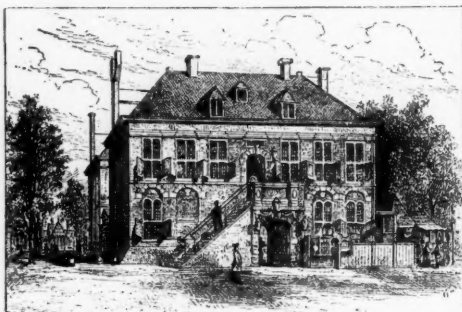
that were contemplated by the West India Company. Accordingly its great charter was granted, and the document duly signed and sealed on June 3, 1621.

By the provisions of this paper their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands authorized the formation of a national society of merchants. To enable them to carry out the purposes of their association it was stipulated that a sum of not less than seven millions of florins (\$2,800,000) be subscribed as capital. There were to be five Chambers of Direction representing the shareholders of different sections of the country. One of these was the Chamber of Amsterdam, to which later was entrusted the entire management of New Netherland affairs. A general board was formed for the control of the entire company by delegates from each chamber, called the "Assembly of the XIX", being composed of nineteen members, one of whom represented the States General.

The Company having been thus organized for effective operation, what was it empowered to do? For the space of twenty-four years after July 1, 1621, it was to have the privilege, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants or associations of merchants within the bounds of the United Provinces, of sending ships for purposes of traffic to the countries of America and Africa that bordered on the Atlantic Ocean, and those on the west coast

of America on the shores of the Pacific. The remainder of the globe was assigned to the Dutch East India Company, whose field of operations, as has been stated more than once in these pages, began in the seas east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. In the regions or waters designated, the West India Company was given the privi-

and having established themselves in friendly or conquered territories, the directors could appoint governors and other officers. The Company was permitted to levy troops of its own, and to fit out fleets with every appurtenance for attack or defense, in order to hold its possessions against the enemy. Amid all this warlike language there is but little said directly bearing



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON HAARLEM STREET.

lege that had been conceded to the East India Company in its sphere, of making treaties and alliances with princes and potentates. Here, too, for the purpose of protecting their trade or for carrying on war, the Company was allowed to erect forts,

on the injuries the Company should endeavor to inflict on the fleets or territories of Spain. But it was obvious that the permission to raise armies and fleets applied principally in the direction of predatory warfare on sea and land. Indeed, a special article conferring upon the Company authority to pursue methods of force in case of fraud practised against its servants abroad, or if goods were stolen from them by

violent hands, gave them a sufficient margin for aggressive warfare. Yet a precisely similar article formed part of the charter of the East India Company. The troops levied by the Company were to take the usual oath of allegiance to the States-

In 1623 the Company rented a fine building belonging to the city on the "Haarlemmer Straat," and this, the second (not, as some have called it, the first) building occupied by their offices, is represented in the illustration in the text. If the reader should visit Amsterdam he will be easily able to identify this house. Through the kindness

of Mr. K. H. Van Pelt, a merchant of Amsterdam, inquiries were made, and after making a personal visit to the locality he writes: "The building on the 'Haarlemmer Straat,' facing the Heeren Market [Square], is now a 'Home for Old Men and Women'. It is an old-fashioned building exactly in the state as it was built."

General as well as to their more immediate principals. Likewise the Governor-General who might eventually be appointed was to be approved and commissioned by the States-General, and must swear fealty to them as well as to the Assembly of the XIX. In case actual hostilities should occur, which the cessation of the truce of course made certain, the General Government were to provide twenty vessels of war of various burden, provided that the Company "man, victual, and support" these, adding themselves an equal number of armed vessels of like burden, while the troops of the States placed on board of these fleets should also be paid by the Company. Coming now to the matter of trade, of which we had almost lost sight amid so many military articles, the Company was conceded the privilege of exporting home manufactures and of importing the products of the countries along the Atlantic, free of all duties for the space of eight years. Prizes taken on the seas, and booty of war, wherever secured, were to have their value carefully estimated by the Boards of Admiralty, and the proceeds were to be distributed in fixed proportions among the shareholders and servants of the Company, with a fair percentage for the treasury of the General Government of the United Netherlands.

A number of other matters referring to details of business, such as the subscription of the capital and

the management of it when subscribed, the duties and emoluments of directors and the subordinate officers and clerks of the Company, form the subject of several articles and need not be more fully described here. But among the whole of the forty-five articles of the charter, we find only one brief clause that can by any interpretation of language or spirit be regarded as imposing the duty of colonizing, and with that department of the West India Company's enterprises we are of course at present most concerned. It occurs in the second article, which is a very long one, but its words are few and not very pressing: "further [they] may promote the populating of fertile and uninhabited regions, and do all that the advantage of these provinces, the profit and increase of commerce shall require." Now we can hardly read in these lines what a recent writer saw in them, who says that "in the newly drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America." We fail to read an obligation in the actual words of mild permission, and can discover no allusion whatever to New Netherland. Nevertheless upon this slight and scarcely visible thread of duty or contract, if such even it may be called, hung the whole of that connection with Manhattan Island which made the Colony there the ward of



the West India Company, and links their histories inseparably together.

With its powers and privileges carefully defined and its internal organization skilfully appointed, the West India Company was nevertheless helpless without capital. It was fully two years and a quarter before the prescribed sum was subscribed,



*Pieter Heyn*  
as *Admiral*

ADMIRAL PIET HEYN.

and for that length of time the great charter remained nugatory. The capital then secured was precisely 7,108,161.10 florins (\$2,843,264.44), as one careful historian informs us.

The capital having been finally subscribed, and the books closed on October 31, 1623, with an exhibit of

above seven millions of florins, the directors at once prepared for active operations, and on December 21st they despatched their first fleet. It consisted of twenty-six vessels, large and small, and was commanded by an admiral whose name it is not material to mention by the side of that of his vice-admiral, Piet Heyn, whose fame soon became worldwide. The object of the expedition, as revealed by secret instructions that were to be opened at sea, was an attack on San Salvador, situated on the Bahia, the capital of the former Portuguese, but then Spanish, possessions in Brazil. Manhattan Island had at that time been known and almost constantly visited by Dutch ships for nearly fourteen years; the name of "New Netherland Company" had been assumed by an association of merchants who had sought to develop the resources of the region thus popularly known, and this association, together with all the others trading with the countries on the Atlantic coast, east and west, had been absorbed by the Great West India Company. But New Netherland, to which a few ships with emigrants had been sent in the course of this same year (1623), was not in the thought of the directors when they were contemplating a supreme effort. Brazil was the land of their desire, whose conquest from previous possessors was to bring untold wealth and glory.

There follows now a period of five or six years when the West India



Company reached the height of its financial success, and the most extravagant expectations for the future seemed to be justified. San Salvador was taken in 1624, but lost the next year through some mismanagement. Towards the close of 1626, Piet Heyn, advanced to the rank of Admiral, was a second time sent to the Bahia, and, although he did not attempt to recover the city, he seized vast treasures by capturing the greater part of the South American fleet, which had just been collecting there preparatory to conveying to Spain the precious products gathered from field, and forest, and mine, through a whole year. The exploit netted his masters 370,000 florins (\$148,000) in sugar alone. But the climax of prosperity, or what was deemed prosperity, for the Company, and the acme of glory for the Admiral himself were attained in the famous year 1628; for then took place that signal achievement which has made the name of Piet Heyn immortal—the taking of the Spanish Silver Fleet.

Early in the year the Admiral was placed in command of a fleet of thirty-one vessels, with which he proceeded directly to the West Indies. Sending out some of his swiftest yachts to reconnoiter, word was soon brought him, while cruising among the Antilles, that the great Silver Fleet of the Spaniards, lightly convoyed, was on its way to Cuba. Heyn at once gave orders to all his captains to be on the alert for the first signs of

this splendid prize. His diligence was rewarded ere long by the coming into sight of no less than ten vessels sailing together. He speedily put to rout the few armed convoys accompanying the squadron, and made an easy prey of the others. It proved however, to be not the Silver Fleet, but that from Mexico, laden with rich dye-stuffs and other merchandise. A few days later another fleet of eleven sail came into view. These vessels had sought to enter the harbor of Havana, but opposing winds and stress of weather had driven them out of their course, and they were now endeavoring to make the bay or harbor of Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba, when they fell in with the Dutch. They attempted to escape by hastening within the shelter of the bay, but it was too late. Besides, as they were entering, most of the ships ran aground upon the shoals, suffering no injury thereby, but being rendered helpless in the face of an attacking force. Admiral Heyn therefore considerably offered them quarter and honorable terms of surrender, which were accepted. And thus without a blow passed into his hands the annual fleet from Guatemala, freighted with silver on its way to replenish the Spanish treasury. Heyn, having transferred their cargoes, burned seven of the captured vessels, and succeeded in reaching the ports of the Republic late in the same year (1628), without the loss of a single ship. It was found that the

booty he had secured was worth no less than eleven and a half millions of florins (\$4,600,000), while the value of the prizes brought home about the same time by other fleets of the West India Company aggregated over four millions of florins (\$1,600,000). The Company felt justified in declaring a dividend of fifty per cent. in 1629, and again in 1630 one of twenty-five per cent. But the same degree of success was never attained again. The Admiral, who, in gaining untold wealth for the West India Company, had won only renown for himself,—for he refused to accept a single dollar,—did not long survive his famous exploit. In 1629 he was killed off the coast of Belgium in an engagement with the Dunkirk pirates. He was buried at the public expense and a splendid monument raised to his memory in the Old Church at Delft, the first instance in which such an honor was paid to a Dutch admiral.

Enriched yet not quite satisfied with the immense but precarious returns of mere predatory warfare, the Company resolved to again address itself seriously to the conquest of a colonial empire in Brazil and Africa, to correspond with the one established by the East India Company in Eastern Seas. San Salvador had been won and lost; it was determined not to renew attempts in this direction, but to seek a lodgment higher up the coast; and the city of Olinda, in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, on the site of the present city of that

name, was selected as the object of the next attack. Heyn being no more, the expedition was intrusted to Admiral Loncq. It set out early in 1629, but this was a trying year for the Republic, and Loncq was left unsupported until the crisis was past. Frederick Henry's heroic efforts having been crowned with brilliant success, later in the year the Admiral was placed over a very much larger command than that with which he had at first sailed. He was now at the head of a fleet of sixty-one vessels, carrying a force of 3500 marines besides 3780 sailors,—a more powerful armament than had ever before been sent out by the West India Company. Nothing in Brazil could resist this Dutch Armada, and on March 2, 1630, Olinda surrendered, becoming subsequently the capital of Dutch Brazil under the name of Mauritsstadt, in honor of the Governor.

With extensive territories in its possession in Brazil, besides Curacoa and other islands in the Caribbean Sea, and some towns on the shores of the Mexican gulf, it seemed to the West India Company that the time had now come for assuming a state and dignity in the government of its acquisitions on a scale to vie with the splendid empire established by the East India Company on the island of Java. But even that proud and wealthy association had never looked beyond its own directors, or men who had occupied the position of Burgomaster of Amsterdam, or of

some other city to fill the almost regal office of Governor-General at Batavia. The West India Company looked higher, and did not hesitate to apply to a scion of the illustrious house of Nassau. They invited to assume the post of "Captain-Governor and Admiral-General" of the West Indies, John Maurice, Count of Nassau, the grandson of Count John of Nassau, the next younger brother of William the Silent. This nobleman, apart from this exalted family connection, was possessed of eminent personal merit. In 1629, during that brief critical condition in the affairs of the Republic already mentioned, he had won distinction under his cousin, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, at the siege of Bois-le-Duc, and in 1632, at the equally successful siege of Maastricht, he had bravely sustained an attack by the famous Pappenheim, who was destined that same year to receive a mortal wound on the field of Lutzen, where Gustavus Adolphus met his death. Count John Maurice was now in the prime of life, having been born in the year 1604, and thus when this invitation came to him (1636) only thirty-two years of age.

In October, 1636, Count John Maurice sailed from Holland, attended by a fleet carrying three thousand men, and arrived at the city of Paraiba in February, 1637. His arrival was soon followed by the establishment of very beneficial institutions within the bounds of his

government, for which Robert Southey, the English historian of Brazil, awards him the highest meed of praise. Under the direction of a man so liberal and enlightened, the colony flourished greatly, and as an indication of this it may be stated that from a duty of ten per cent. on the export of sugar alone an annual income of 280,900 florins (\$112,360) was realized. He was diligent also in promoting measures for the extension of territory. Before his arrival the Dutch had occupied four of the fourteen Captaincies into which Portuguese Brazil had been divided; these were Pernambuco, Paraiba, Rio Grande, and Tamarica. Several expeditions were undertaken against places still held by the enemy within these provinces, and with invariable success, while, as the result of his well-planned and vigorously executed manœuvres against the enemy outside of the territories already conquered, three more Captaincies were added to the Dutch possessions during the Governor's administration—those of Maragnan and Seara in the northwest, and that of Serecipe in the south. Nor was it forgotten that his legitimate jurisdiction embraced the coasts on the other side of the Atlantic. Slave-labor in that day was deemed indispensable for the developement of Brazil's natural resources, and hence, a few months after his arrival, Count Nassau sent a fleet to seize the Spanish-Portuguese possessions in Africa. St. George

del Mina, a strong fortress situated on the Gold Coast, the key to the country where the slave-trade was mainly pursued, fell into the hands of the Dutch. The Island of St. Thomas, off the shores of Upper Guinea, captured by the unfortunate Van der Does in 1599, was now retaken and occupied by a sufficient force to hold it securely. In 1641,



JOHN MAURICE OF NASSAU.

the city and fortress of St. Paul de Loanda, in Lower Guinea, surrendered—a place whence were annually exported twenty-five thousand slaves at a gross income of a million florins and a net profit of 660,000 florins (\$264,000).

But now there appeared on the horizon the small cloud that boded storm and disaster after hitherto uninterrupted success. In 1639 Colonel

Artichofsky, who had distinguished himself in the conquest of Brazil before the advent of Count John Maurice, arrived at Mauritsstadt bearing credentials which showed that the Company had conferred upon him the title and command of "Generallissimus"—that is, he was to have special authority, independent of the Governor-General's control, over the land forces in Brazil, and indeed the entire regulation of military affairs seemed to have been entrusted to him. A greater mistake could not have been committed. The efficient incumbent of the chief office in the Company's service resented such action on their part. He refused to recognize the "Generallissimus," and forthwith sent him back to Holland. The Polish nobleman, on his part, naturally complained of this conduct, and, finding sympathizers, the seeds of dissension were sown, and evil consequences were sure to follow.

And never was there greater need of harmony in the counsels of the Company, or in those of its Brazilian colony, than at this very time. The Spaniards had at last been roused to the importance of making an effort to recover the colonial empire of Brazil, which had fallen to their share when they reduced the kingdom of Portugal. A fleet of eighty-six vessels, with twelve thousand men on board, was despatched from the ports of Spain, and was known in Holland and at Mauritsstadt to be crossing the Atlantic, to crush the power of the

Dutch intruders with one fell blow. It seemed to be in no great haste, however, for not till eight months after it left Spain did the fleet appear off the coasts of Dutch Brazil. On January 12, 1640, the Republican squadron sailed forth to encounter the Spaniards, and after four days of hard fighting the latter withdrew from the contest under cover of the night. Thus Brazil was still held for the Dutch West India Company, and no molestation was likely soon to come from the direction of Spain.

A worse thing, however, than war had thus far proved for the interests of the Company was preparing for it in Portugal. In 1640, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke and became again an independent state. In so doing, however, she necessarily assumed an attitude of hostility to Spain, and this made her inevitably the ally of the Dutch Republic. Indeed, she had not accomplished her emancipation without material aid from the United Provinces. Therefore what were these Provinces now to do with the colonial possessions wrested from her ally? This proved a very serious as well as a very puzzling question. The Portuguese revolution had such a depressing effect upon the stock of both Companies, that the East India shares fell immediately from five hundred to four hundred and forty florins, and those of the other from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fourteen. But the most disastrous consequence

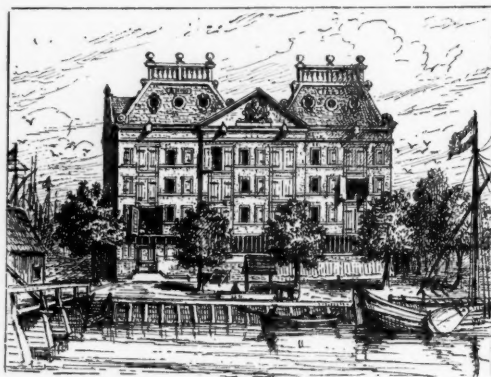
was the loss of Brazil. Affairs there lingered for some years in a measurably prosperous condition; but the Portuguese subjects became more and more restive. Count John Maurice met with reverse or disappointment in one or two enterprises, and, not being supported by the Company at home, he offered his resignation in 1644. As a measure of frugality, as well as for other reasons, it was accepted, and the Governor left Brazil in the summer of that year.

After the Count of Nassau's departure matters in Brazil grew rapidly worse. As if the pressure of adverse circumstances from without were not enough to produce ruin, by a strange fatuity the West India Company invited misfortune by the appointment of officers most of whom were incompetent, while others proved to be traitors. In despair the Company, in 1646, appealed for aid to the States-General, who granted a subsidy of one and a half millions of florins, and despatched a fleet carrying a force of four thousand men. Nothing of importance was gained, however. Then in 1647 Count John Maurice was once more solicited to accept the Governor-Generalship; but he saw that things had gone too far for remedy, and he wisely declined the honor. Another attempt to send relief to the colony in 1649 was frustrated by internal dissensions and jealousies, at home and abroad. Shortly after, Cromwell declared war against Holland for affording shelter

to the fugitive Charles II.; and while all the strength of the Republic was necessarily concentrated upon the endeavor to resist so formidable an adversary, Portugal made use of the opportunity to finally destroy the power of the Dutch in distant Brazil, and in 1654 the West India Company saw that fair and vast acquisition pass completely and forever out of its hands. At a peace or convention

liges to Dutch traders or settlers similar to those granted to Portuguese under Dutch rule, and this was the last of the splendid Colonial Empire of the West which was to have rivaled that in the Orient.

At home, too, as was to be expected, the affairs of the Company were now in ruinous confusion. When, in 1644, the charter of the East India Company was about to expire at the end of its second period of twenty-one years, and that of the West India Company was approaching the close of its first term of twenty-four years, an effort was made to combine the two into one association. The directors of the West India Company offered to transfer to those of the other Company all their property in the shape of territories, forts, vessels, etc., together with a sum in cash of more than three



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON THE RAPENBURG.

concluded by the United Netherlands with Portugal in 1661, the latter agreed to pay eight millions of florins (\$3,200,000) to the Company as an indemnification for its loss, together with the concession of certain privi-

millions and a half of florins. But the East India Company refused to enter into the combination, on the ground that the assets of the West India Company were five millions of florins less than their liabilities, and

When its financial reverses came upon it the Company (1654) was no longer able to pay the rent of the house on Haarlem street. It then transferred its offices to the warehouse which had been erected in 1642 on the Rapenburg Quay. In the central gable is

sculptured in stone the Company's monogram, "G. W. C." for "Geocroyeerde West-indische Compagnie," or Chartered West India Company. This building is represented in the illustration, and, like the other, may be readily identified.



this deficit would have to be raised on the credit of the former, which would cause an immediate fall in the value of their stock. This refusal, remarks Van Kampen, was the "death sentence" of the West India Company. But another fatal blow was the long-threatened and final loss of Brazil, ten years later, in 1654. After that destruction was inevitable. "Its affairs fell into such a state," says the author of *"La Richesse de la Hollande,"* "that it no longer paid any dividend or interest much less the principal of the sums that had been advanced. As early as 1667 it was contemplated to sell the property of the Company, as well as the rights which it enjoyed under its charter; but the project did not go into effect. Burdened with a debt of six millions without the means of liquidating the same, without the hope even of acquiring the power to do so, it was determined to dissolve the Company in 1674." This dissolution took place. Thereupon a new West India Company was organized, to which a charter was granted for twenty-five years, to begin with the 1st of January, 1675. By one stroke the debt of the old Company was reduced thirty per cent., and the capital contributed by the former shareholders placed fifteen per cent. below the amount actually invested. On this reconstructed but crippled basis the West India Company continued its operations in a feeble manner for a century and a quarter longer. In 1682, Surinam, or Dutch Guyana,

which had been ceded to the Dutch in the place of New Netherland in 1667, at the peace of Breda, was sold to the Company by the States of Zeeland, under whose auspices it had been conquered, for two hundred and sixty thousand florins (\$104,000). But the Company was unable alone to conduct the colony's affairs profitably. It therefore sold a one-third interest to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to Cornelius Van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyk. This combination of interests was then incorporated as a separate organization, under the name of the "Surinam Company," in 1683. In 1700, when the first twenty-five years had expired, the Charter of the West India Company was renewed for thirty years, and in 1730, another thirty years were granted to it; but its affairs were ever after characterized by feebleness as compared with those of a century before. A momentary gleam of importance seems once more to be reflected upon it when, in 1747, William IV., Prince of Orange, and Stadholder of all the United Netherlands, was made "Chief-Director and Governor-General of both the Indies," and thereby placed at the head of the East and the West India Companies." At length, in the year 1800, when the waves of the French Revolution had rolled over Holland, banishing the house of Orange, and destroying the old Republic or Confederacy of the United Netherlands, the two historic Companies



were also swept out of existence. Their affairs and their possessions were placed under the care of the "Councils for the Asiatic and the American Possessions," and the East and West India Companies were heard of no more. Fifteen years later Holland arose, a Kingdom instead of a Republic, out of the chaos into which the French Revolution and Napoleon's ambition had plunged European politics; and the colonial possessions in the east and west, or so much of them as could be recovered from the English, became the property of the State, and are relegated at this day to the Department of the Colonies under the chief direction of a Cabinet Minister.

The history of the West India Company has thus been traced from its inception in 1604 to its extinction in 1800. The principal use of this review for our purposes is to be found in the opportunity it affords to appreciate the position of the West India Company at home and abroad, while New Netherland was still a part of the territories over which it bore rule. If its management of New Netherland affairs was not without defect, it will be seen that it was equally defective in management in other quarters. If it is a matter of surprise at times that there was such great lack of vigorous support when it might properly have been expected from the directors at home, it can be seen that vigor was not long characteristic of the Company, or indeed

within its ability to manifest anywhere; while its financial situation hampered its activities when scarcely more than half of its first term of twenty-four years had expired. It will be seen, too, that predatory warfare was its favorite pursuit, or at least that colonization was never its principal object. In 1626, when, as is claimed by some, the enemies of the Company pressed that almost invisible clause of the charter which only seemed to enjoin some such undertaking,—when, too, encouraging financial returns as the result of prizes-of-war began to come in,—the first regular Colonial Government was provided for New Netherland, and Director-General Minuit was sent out. Before he was recalled, and during a part of Van Twiller's administration, the acme of the Company's prosperity was attained. Yet there are not apparent any notable consequences attending these happy events in the province upon the Hudson River, except some brief activity in the erection of a few modest buildings, and the completion of Fort Amsterdam. In 1637, when the Count of Nassau, allied to the illustrious house of Orange, was sent to govern Brazil, William Kieft, a bankrupt in business, and with a clouded reputation, was sent to govern New Netherland. During his administration misfortunes began to accumulate upon the Company at home and abroad; in the midst of these Stuyvesant was appointed, and they became worse

with every year of his incumbency. So in 1664 New Netherland, unsupported by the Company, because it was itself helpless and on the brink of ruin, was suffered to pass into other hands without a blow. And by

a curious coincidence, when New Netherland, in the year 1674, finally ceased to be subject to Dutch control, occurred also the dissolution of the original West India Company.

NOTE: Illustration on page 112 is view of City of Amsterdam—not New Amsterdam.



### THE FIRST PRINTING IN AMERICA—THE FIRST PRINTER— THE FIRST EDITOR.

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UNTIL a comparatively recent date, the world of book lovers has been in perplexity as to the real facts regarding the first book published in America. Earnest investigation, aided by accidental discovery, has at last, however, been rewarded, and certain rare works have at last been found that are like royal nuggets in a gold mine. In order to give a somewhat full idea of the efforts that have been made, it will be well to trace the search backward. This procedure will best show the discoveries in their chronological order, and from the singular developments so made, the consecutive events in the history of the art of printing in America can be the more readily given. Isaiah Thomas, in his "History of Printing," published in 1810, a work regarded as very high authority, in speaking of early printing in the Western hemisphere, says that in January, 1639, "Printing was first performed in that part of North America which extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Ocean. The first press and font of type were

brought from Old England to New England by the Reverend Jesse Glover, who himself defrayed a part of the expense, the remainder being contributed by several persons in New England and Amsterdam." The first printer who settled in the New England colonies, and entered upon the publication of books was a Londoner named Stephen Daye. He brought over with him the necessary printing plant, and established himself in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The first work done by him was a broadside, entitled "The Free Man's Oath." Unfortunately no known copies are in existence. This first publication in that part of the New World, was followed by the production of the first book, an "Almanack," for the year 1640, compiled according to Thomas and Winthrop the historian, by "Mr. William Pierce, Mariner." The book is regarded as extinct, no copy being known in any public or private library in either England or America. The "Bay Psalm Book," bearing the date of 1640,

long had the honor of being the first publication on the American continent, but careful investigation placed the "Almanack" in the lead. A copy of the "Bay Psalm Book" of 1640, was sold at the celebrated "Harris Sale." It was prepared for the press during the year 1640, whereas the "Almanack" was prepared and printed before the beginning of the year.

So much for the earliest printing done in what is now the United States. In his "History of Printing," Thomas says, possibly from some vague tradition which had been brought to his attention, that "Printing was done in Mexico previous to 1569," and says also that "the first book printed was Martinez." This was as far as his knowledge at the time he wrote permitted him to make the record. Subsequent events proved that he was wrong by two-thirds of a century. The statements made from tradition and inferences, were, as the result of later knowledge corrected in a subsequent edition of his works issued in 1874.

For many years subsequent to the writing of Thomas' History, "Molina's Vocabulary of the Mexican Language," a quarto published in 1555, was regarded as the first book printed in Mexico. It was unknown to Rich and Ternaux, and although there are several copies of the Folio edition to be found at the present time, its existence has but recently been made known. A copy of the quarto edition

was sold at Sotheby's sale, and a note stated that no other copy was known to exist in any other library in Europe. It is an exceedingly rare volume, but the United States is happy in the possession of a copy, carefully guarded and preserved in the Lenox Library, New York City. This bibliophiletic treasure was procured in Mexico at a heavy cost. A second copy has also been claimed to have been discovered in the Carter-Brown collection in Providence. A second edition of the work was printed in 1571, but that would naturally not possess the value of a copy of a quarto of the first edition. The search having been begun, was eagerly entered into by book hunters everywhere, when to their delight the "Doctrina Christiana," bearing the date of 1544 was found. This in turn was then claimed to be undoubtedly the first work published by the Mexican press. Rich, in his "Catalogue of American Books," adhered to this opinion as also did Brunet. Others claimed that the "Compendio Breve," (1544), was the first, but the work had never been seen nor heard of by that very eminent of book hunters, Mr. Brown, of Providence.

Many opinions were held as the result of individual investigation. A prominent writer in the Historical Magazine, as late as November, 1858, asserted that the first publication from the Mexican press was "Richel (Dionisio) Copendio Breve, &c. Juan Cromberger, 1545, 4to.," a copy of

which was sold by Sotheby & Wilkinson of London, in June, 1853, for the sum of £35. The writer signs himself as "Rice Planter," and leaves the matter thus vaguely.

Rich, in his "Catalogue of Books Relating to America, printed before the year 1700," claims a different work from that mentioned by "Rice Planter," as beyond a doubt the earliest printed book in Mexico. The year and the name of the printer are however the same, and it requires a minute study of Mexican bibliography to determine which book was the first. Added to these, there is still another statement about a pretended first print of the Mexican press, made by C. Falkenstein, in his "*Geschichte der Buch-druckerkunst*," (Leipsic, 1540.) He says that Girolamo Paolo Lombardo of Brescia, had been called by Mondez to Mexico to print the "*Ordinationes Legumque Collectiones*," &c., and that this work, a folio published in 1549, may be considered as the first American print.

He names Gonzales as his authority, but a careful examination of the works of Gonzales fails to disclose any work such as is indicated. Other discoveries, however, were made, which compelled a gradual putting back of the date of the earliest work until it reached the year 1540.

A similar list was given by Harisse in his "*Bibliotheka Americana Vetissima*," and Mr. John Russell Bartlett gives another list reaching from 1540

to 1600 in the "Carter-Brown Catalogue," and gives also certain essays on the subject in the *Historical Magazine*. The Abbe Clavigero, a most eminent authority says, as the result of his extensive reading and discovery of passages containing references to ancient works: "We may conclude that printing was introduced into Mexico previous to 1540," and what he concluded has been proven to have a foundation in fact. It might be added in this connection that another authority says: "There is a tradition about a Mexican book said to have been printed in 1536, but the book is not now in existence, and the correctness of this date has not been proved."

Of particular value in the premises is the "*Historia de la fundacion y discurso, &c.*," published in Madrid in 1596.

The author, Archbishop Davila Padilla, of San Domnigo, was born in Mexico in 1562, became a Dominican in 1579 and died in 1604. His opportunities for gathering material regarding the ancient printing on the continent were excellent, and being thoroughly interested in the subject, he amassed a useful store of information regarding the Spanish people, as well as the native Indian races, and the national traits of the natives, and their acceptance of the new regime, so that he was able to make an authoritative statement regarding the production of the earlier works issued by Spaniards in the "New Land," other-

wise called New Spain. It is from the data afforded by him, that we find the earliest positive mention of the establishment of a printing press in the New World, as represented by the Montezumean territory known as New Spain (*Nuova Espana*), and the positive proof of the first book published in the New World. The world of letters is also indebted in an especial manner to the researches made by Senor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, of the City of Mexico, who has devoted the best services of his genius as an editor and a collaborator to the preparation of an authoritative work in reference to the advent of printing in the Western World.

This learned writer carefully investigated the whole subject of Mexican typography and published the results of his investigation in an elaborate article in the "*Diccionario de Historia y de Geografia*," (1854). He gave a list of books printed in Mexico prior to the year 1600, and also designated the places where copies of the works were still preserved.

It would seem as if the discoveries, as they have been traced backward through the decades of years, were such that no question could arise at this stage of the investigation with reference to the proofs. We therefore from the evidence before us, present the following as the authentic history of the introduction of printing into the Western World, with a sketch of its rapid progress during its infant years.

The moving spirit in the enterprise was undoubtedly Senor Antonio de Mendoza. He was a man held in high esteem as an active worker in literature, and as one of the results of the favor he had gained at the Court of Spain, was appointed Viceroy of Mexico in 1535. He also seems to have immediately entered upon an active exercise of his duties and perhaps self-imposed obligations, for the record says:

"He procured an edict in 1551 from Spain, for the establishment of a university in the capitol; previous to which he had taken care that the newly discovered art of printing should be brought from the Old World into the New."

We may therefore regard Senor Mendoza as the originator of the enterprise of introducing the printing press westward across the Atlantic, and in the same year in which he had received his appointment as Viceroy, to wit., in 1535. For a comparison of dates shows that it was in 1535 that historical research gives the name of the first printer in Mexico, Juan Pablos.

The date of 1532, given by Gonzales Davila is evidently wrong, for it is a proved fact that Senor Mendoza was appointed Viceroy in April, 1535, and did not arrive in Mexico until the middle of October of that year. He had undoubtedly been previously very active in preparation for the work, hence the public announcement of the idea, while yet the fact had not been realized.

## FRERE ESTRADA—THE FIRST EDITOR.

At this period a new figure comes upon the scene. Frere Estrada, a young monk and undoubtedly one of the companions of Mendoza on his journey when he came to enter upon his duties as Viceroy. He was in all probability the first editorial worker. From the various data that is available, the novitiate of Frere Estrada was only begun when he left Spain. It lasted for "one year," a shorter time than is usually granted in the Seminaries, owing probably to superior successes on his part as a student. He is credited with having made his "Profession" at the end of the year, and during that year to have made the first translation of any known work in the New World. The book credited to his labor is entitled "Escala Espiritual," Spiritual Ladder, and so far as investigations develop any facts up to this date, it is the first translation and editorial work of which any record is known.

The matter is of such interest to lovers of historic lore, that it is well worth while to glance at a portion of the record:

## "ESCALA ESPIRITUAL"—1536.

The particulars of its preparation and publication are given by Fr. Davilla Padilla, in his work "Historia de la Fundacion," etc. (Madrid, 1623, folio.) He says:

"Being in the house of the novices, he, (Juan de Estrada), did a thing which, being first done by him in this

country, was enough to give him fame if he had not otherwise gained it, as he has, by being what he was. The first book that was written in this New World, and the first on which the art of printing was employed was his work. There was usually given to the novices a book by St. John Climachus; and as it did not exist in our language, he was directed to translate it from the Latin. He did it quickly and with elegance, for he was an excellent Latin and Spanish scholar, and his book was the first that was printed by John Pablos, the first printer who came to this country. It is an evidence of the devotion of the province of San Domingo, of Mexico, that one of her sons was the first who printed in this New World, and that he printed so devout a work as the "Spiritual Ladder" of St. John Climachus."

In an earlier edition of Padilla's work issued in 1596, is also an account of Juan Pablos, styling him, as here, the first printer in Mexico, and stating that the work printed was a "Religious Manual of St. John Climachus." Another writer who refers to this early production of St. John Climachus is Fr. Alonzo Fernandez, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica de nuestros tiempos," (Toledo, 1611.) Speaking of Fr. Juan de Estrada, he says:

"This father printed the translation which he made of St. John Climachus very profitably, etc. This was the



first book printed in Mexico, and it was in the year 1535."

The expression "This father printed the translation," etc., does not for a moment interfere with the claims made on behalf of Pablos, for while the reverend father was the author of the work, Pablos did the mechanical part of the printing.

Another leading authority is found in the "Teatro Eclesiastico, &c., by Gil Gonzales Davila, (Madrid, 1849.) He says: "In the year 1532, the Viceroy D. Antonio Mendoza carried printing to Mexico. The first printer was Juan Pablos, and the first book printed in the New World was that written by St. John Climachus, entitled 'Spiritual Ladder to ascend into Heaven;' translated from the Latin into Castilian by the venerable Fr. Juan de la Magdalena, Dominican Religious."

These three writers who refer in their respective works to the translation of the "Escala Espiritual," or "Spiritual Ladder" of Climachus, agree in all respects, with one exception, but the apparent discrepancy is very easily corrected. All three writers state that the book under consideration was the first book printed in Mexico; and two of them add that Juan Pablos was the printer. Davila says the translation was made by Juan de la Magdalena, while Padilla and Fernandez say Juan de Estrada was the translator. These names refer to the same person, Magdalena being the cloister name of Estrada.

3

This is evidenced by the name of "Estrada *alias* Magdalena," being used in other portions of Padilla's works, when speaking of the celebrated divine.

It seems that no copy of the "Escala Espiritual" has been seen in modern times, and the quoted references are the only evidences yet found which mention it. The disappearance of the book more than three hundred years after its publication, is by no means surprising for a work of its kind, for, as Senor Icazbalceta remarks: "Being intended for the use of novices, but a small number was probably printed. These were undoubtedly never circulated outside the convent, but used up as school books generally are sooner than any other class."

The eager desire to learn something of the existence, if an existence there still be of this remarkable book, is shown by the earnest search that is being made by book hunters throughout Europe as well as America. The following expressions are recently credited to Mr. Halket Lord, one of the most eminent among the present searchers in this peculiar mine of Mexican wealth:

"There are two books," he is credited with saying, "that I shall not die happy without discovering. As an American by descent, for my people settled in Connecticut in the middle of the seventeenth century, I wish to gladden my eyes with the sight of those which were first printed on the

North American continent and in New England\* Strange to say, we are aware of the existence of such volumes at one time, but no human eye has seen them for centuries. The first volume of which the type was set up and printed off a press on this continent is as lost to collectors as is the first book printed in what is now the United States. The man who can find either of these will have in his possession treasures that are worth thousands of dollars apiece. They are making a great fuss in London over the discovery of the Greek text of Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," and we had the original text in Spanish of the Columbus Letter written up to date at the time of the Ives sale, but these two volumes are of far greater interest to me than either of those I have last named."

Another eminent authority in the present quest, says: "We know from two of the early American writers, Archbishop Davilla Padilla, of San Domingo and Alonzo Fernandez, that the volume had an existence. Both of them mention it in their works, and say that the book was exclusively for the novices at the monastery of St. Dominic, in the City of Mexico, where the first printing press was erected in the Three Americas." All bibliographical authorities are absolutely certain of its having had an existence, and that it antedates what is now the first book actually known to be pre-

\*"Spiritual Ladder" and "Dayes Almanack."

served, and that is Cabrera's 'Manual for Adults,' of which there are only a few fragments in a private library in Madrid, but on one of which we read that the printer, Cromberger, finished it in the City of Mexico on December 13, 1540. So much for that earliest book, and the man who can find in either of the "Three Americas," or any where else in the broad world, a copy, or even the fragment of a copy, will make a fortune.

#### JUAN PABLOS—THE FIRST PRINTER.

John Pablos, the first printer in the western hemisphere, was evidently, according to Icazbalceta, the foreman of a celebrated printer and publisher, John Cromberger of Seville, in Spain, and sent by his employer to Mexico where he was soon after joined or followed by the head of the house, Cromberger, himself.

Cromberger, until his death a few years later, maintained two establishments, one in Seville and one in Mexico, as is evidenced by the imprints of works issued in both places, both before and during the years that he himself resided in Mexico. Among the books bearing his imprint may be mentioned the "Onzeno de Amadio," (1546), and as early as 1541, the Sepulvedes "Diagolo Llamado Democrates." The publication of this latter work was followed by a remark indicating the decease of the publisher Cromberger. Since the imprint of the other work was five years later, it is highly probable that the business was carried on by his family,

and afterwards purchased by Pablos.

The conjecture made by the eminent historian, Icazbalceta, would seem to be a very happy and satisfactory one. He summed up that, judging from the imprints on works which followed, Pablos became soon after the death of Cromberger the sole owner of the establishment. Yet although not the owner in the first place of the printing house or plant, he is nevertheless entitled to the honor of calling himself, and of being called, "The First Printer in America."

EL PRIMER CATECHISMO—1537.

Following the publication of the "Escala Espiritual," the first book printed in the New World, came another work according to the authority of Gil Gonzalos Davila, entitled: "The First Catechism printed in the Mexican language for the instruction of the Indians, and written by M. F. Juan Ramires, a Dominican Religious, in the year 1537."

Other writers mention this Catechism by Ramirez, but its actual existence is nowhere shown. Gonzales Davila says it was the first catechism printed in the Mexican language. This may be easily true, for the date 1537 does not interfere with other statements made by the same or other authors, but beyond this there is at present no positive knowledge.

"MANUAL DE ADULTOS"—1540.

This work of Christobal Cabrera bearing the date of December 13 1540, is the rarest of Mexican books.

Only one copy, and that a fragment, is known to exist. It was accidentally discovered in the library of Toledo, Spain, whence it mysteriously disappeared, to be again discovered by Gayangas, on a London bookstall in 1870. The original volume is supposed to have consisted of thirty-eight leaves or folios, but unfortunately only a few fragments now remain. The last four leaves alone were saved from the wreck of time, but they bear indisputable proof of the age of the work by giving the entire title as well as the date of publication. The important sentence which gives the title as well as fixes the date, reads as follows:

"This Manual for Adults was printed in the great city of Mexico by the command and at the expense of the most reverend men, the Bishops of New Spain, at the house of Juan Cromberger, in the year of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1540, on the 13th day of the month of December."

"DOTRINA BREVE"—1543-4.

This work is undoubtedly the oldest (and the only one) printed on the American continent that has wholly escaped the wasting ravages of relentless time. It is a small quarto volume of eighty-four folios, printed in Gothic letter, and with the title as follows:

"A very brief discourse on the tenets of the Catholic Faith, and to our christianity in this land. For general instruction. Composed by the

Very Reverend Seigneur Don Fray Juan Cumarraga, the first bishop of Mexico. By authority of his Majesty. Printed at the same city of Mexico by his order and at his own expense in the year 1543."

The colophon or final inscription when translated reads as follows: "An hour and on a seat for our Lord Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin, Holy Mary, His Mother, for whom this present Treatise is finished. And which has been seen, examined and corrected by the order of the Most Reverend Don Fray Juan Cumarraga: Printed in this grand city of Penuchtitlan Mexico in the New Spain; in the house of Juan Cromberger, by the command of the same Senor Bishop Don Fray Juan Cumarraga and at his own cost. The printing was finished on the thirteenth day of the month of June, in the year 1544."

The Book-lover, John Power, in his "Handy Book about Books," published in London in 1870, reproduced a facsimile of the title page of the "Dotrina Breve," and adds: "This plate is an accurate reproduction of the title page of one of the first books printed in America, where the art of printing was introduced in less than a century after its discovery in Europe. To Mexico belongs the honor of being regarded as the first spot on which the art of printing was first exercised throughout all the vast dominions of the newly discovered world, though the precise time has not been fixed. Fortunately the precise time

has been at last fixed, and all doubts removed regarding it.

In the same volume which prints the facsimile of the title page, is added the following paragraph:

"To this volume from which our facsimile is made, independent of its great rarity, a melancholy interest is attached, owing to its having been the property of the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian, of Mexico; after whose death it was sold at Leipsic with the rest of his valuable collection of Mexican books. It was purchased for the British Museum Library, and is now in a show case in the King's library, with other curious literary rarities."

But while the British Museum can boast the possession of a copy of the work which is connected with so pathetic an incident as its ownership by the slaughtered Emperor, New York is happy in the possession of two copies within her boundaries. A visit to the Lenox Library, that treasure house of rare and wonderful works, will disclose two perfect specimens of the book.

The writer was privileged to take one of these volumes from its resting place under the glass covers, and examine its pages. The binding is as good as any binding of the present day; the print is clear but the white of the paper is dimmed by age, giving it an ancient and honorable appearance. An interesting feature on the title page of one of the copies is the name of some former owner, and whether by Benedictine or layman,

the writing is good, the ink black, and capable of lasting as long as the printing. These two copies in the Lenox are complete and perfect, and have therefore the honor of being the oldest complete works of the earliest printing done in America. With the copy in the British Museum, and one in the Icazbalceta Collection in Mexico, they form a quartet of rarity and immense value.

Another book "*Compendio Breve*"—1544, which is among the rarest of the rare, and printed in the New Castilian land immediately after "*Doctrina Breve*," was a small quarto in Black Letter, and with the following title:

"This is a short compendium which treats of the manner as to how landed estates have been acquired. Prepared by Dionisius Richel Castuyano. It is from the Latin after the style of his own valuable compendious treatise, for general use. Mexico; from the house of Juan Cromberger, 1544."

For many years the "*Doctrina Christiana*"—1544 was regarded, as previously stated, as occupying the enviable position of being the first, and the oldest in the list of New World publications. Harris in common with others, found it difficult to fix a date, but assigned the year 1540 as being the probable time when the work issued from the press. It does not seem possible however, to find an edition with a date earlier than 1544.

The volume is printed in Black

Letter, in the ancient form used in Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The title, enclosed by a rude fancy border, each of the four sides differing from the other, is as follows:

"Christian Doctrine for the instruction and information of the Indians after the manner of history. Printed in Mexico by the order of the Very Reverend Brother Juan Cumarraga, first Bishop of that city, by the command of His Majesty, and at his cost, in the year 1544."

While this work and the "*Compendio Breve*" were finished in the same year (1544), and on the same press, yet the expression "*Que santa gloria aye*" which appears in the Colophon of "*Doctrina Christiana*" shows that the publisher had died before the completion of the book.

The inference is therefore that the other volume, the "*Compendio Breve*" was finished during the life of Cromberger, while the "*Doctrina Christiana*" was not finished until after his death.

The last of the early publications, "*Doctrina Christiana*"—1550, of which we treat, carries the investigation to every work issued from the Mexican press from the beginning in 1536 to the year 1550. The full title of this latter work is "*Christian Doctrine in the Spanish and Mexican Language*." The book bears the imprint of Juan Pablos, and the date given is 1550.

I have thus given in a condensed

history, a thorough account of the advent and early growth of Printing in the Western World, and its earliest results. It is of course possible that further discoveries may be made, and

the fund of knowledge increased, and the results of this continued search will be awaited with the greatest interest.





## FORT ANCIENT.

## THE GREAT PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK OF OHIO.

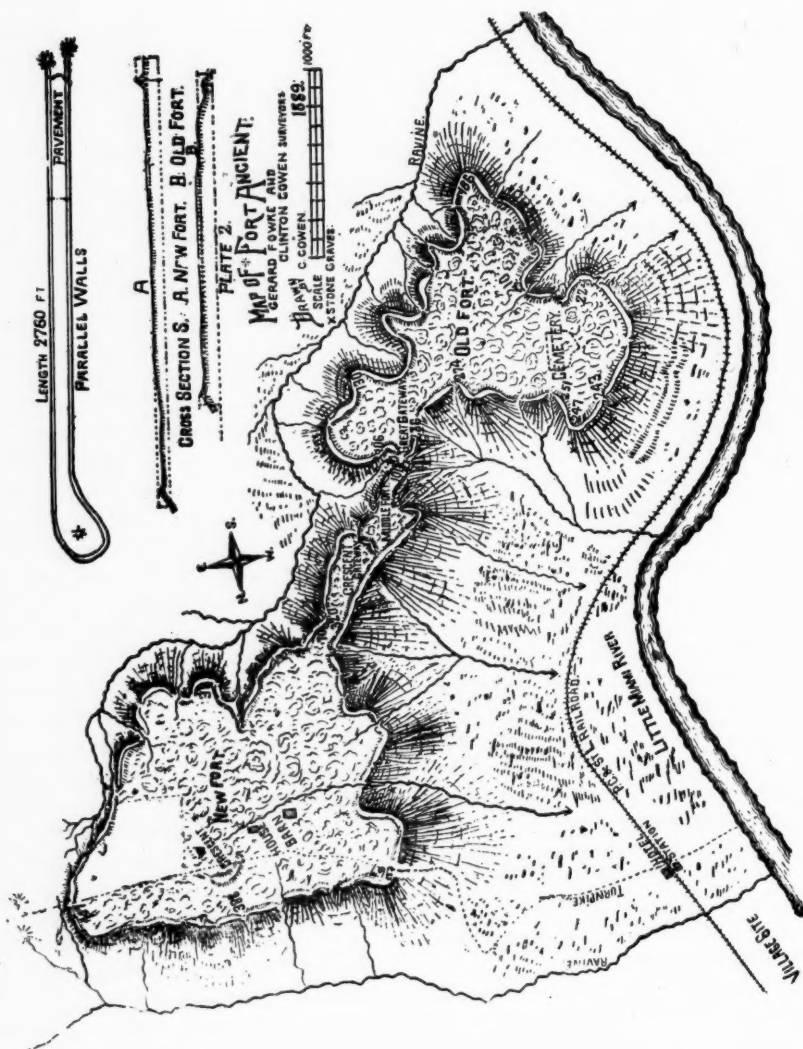
At the time of the settlement of Marietta, Fort Washington, and the Ordinance of 1787 opening the new Northwest Territory, now known as Ohio, the region was occupied by the Shawnee, Miami, Mingoes, and Wyandot tribes of Indians. The early historians among the settlers and the first archæologist of note (Caleb Atwater of Circleville) made meager observations both upon historic occurrences and prehistoric remains. Hence, the information they have left us is only valuable in that it gives the migrations and traditions of Indians living at the time of the settlements, and the outward appearance of mounds and fortifications covered by the original forests. The Indians and their descendants have long ago died, the forests have been cut down and the embankments and *tumuli* greatly reduced by the plow and by descending rains; therefore we are willing to accept the statements of early writers so far as they close up intervals which the modern historian and antiquary is unable to fill.

The Shawnee Indians had large villages twenty-five miles north of Fort Ancient in the Little Miami Valley, and upon the Scioto, seventy miles

eastward. They may have traversed the very site of the fort itself and possibly it was an object of wonder to them. Tradition says that the frontiersman, Boone, who was a captive for some time at Old Chillicothe, observed the medicine men of the tribe go upon journeys to the prehistoric structure which it is our purpose to describe, believing that medicine made in the presence of the spirits of the dead there manifest, would work good to the tribe and assure success in war. This is but tradition and we give it only for what it is worth.

Upon the site of the fortification there have never been found implements or ornaments of European manufacture, and if the Indians knew of the existence of the structure and visited it, their excursions must have been of brief duration.

In 1809, in Philadelphia, there was published in the "Portfolio" and also in the "Pioneer" a plan and a map of Fort Ancient. "Drake's Pictures of Cincinnati" (1815), "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society" (Worcester, Mass., 1820, by Caleb Atwater), contain the earliest accounts of the enclosure. The observations set forth in the articles



just referred to are very creditable when we consider the disadvantages under which the writers have labored. In the light of modern science their remarks would be considered inexcusably inaccurate.

Passing rapidly over the government survey of Fort Ancient made in 1846, the surveys and accounts by Dr. Peet, Dr. Thomas, Mr. Hosea, and others, we reach the year 1888.

During portions of the summer of 1888, all of 1889 and part of 1890, we had the honor to be in charge of a survey located at Fort Ancient for the express purpose of its exploration. The results of the work projected are set forth briefly in the following pages.

The fortification lies upon the edge of a broad plateau and overlooks upon the west the Little Miami River. At the highest point in the embankment it is twenty-two feet in altitude above the plain, or two hundred and ninety-one feet above low water stage in the river in the valley, or nine hundred and forty-one feet above the Atlantic Ocean. Toward the east, the plateau is slightly rolling and the embankments are very massive, being protected on the outside by a ditch or moat which was once broad and deep.

Toward the west or next to the river, there is a precipitous descent varying in steepness from twenty-eight to forty degrees. The wall is carried along the very edge of the hill following the irregularities of

the surface, bending here and there like a great snake to take advantage of every ravine and of all hollows. Toward the south and southwest the plateau is cut off from the general plain by a long, crooked, and deep ravine. The embankments were constructed upon the very brink of this ravine. Standing upon the summit at almost any point one can look down two hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty feet over ground so steep that it would be impossible almost for an army to climb up except on all fours.

The structure is composed largely of earth, although considerable quantities of stone have been laid up forming rude walls at various points upon the outer edge of the embankment. The stones found in the embankment are usually placed at the base and frequently large limestone or sandstone slabs varying in weight from thirty to two hundred pounds are used in the construction.

The average height of the walls is eleven feet, the maximum twenty-two, and the minimum four. The total distance around the top of the wall is eighteen thousand, seven hundred and twelve feet. The structure for convenience in description has been named according to the divisions formed by the ravines. The large southern portion is called South Fort, the isthmus where the walls extend nearly parallel for eight hundred feet, being within arrow-shot of each other, is called the Middle Fort, while the

largest extension beyond is the North Fort.

Near the center of the Middle Fort two crescent shaped walls extend inwards from the embankments on each side and form a narrow gateway. Four hundred feet south of the crescent walls, at a point where the isthmus is barely sixty feet in width, the South Fort proper begins. At this point the ends of the embankments are very high and steep, closely resembling conical mounds—in fact, they are so called on most maps. As the only convenient entrance to the South Fort is at this point, the name "Great Gateway" has been adopted to designate it.

So much for a description of the character of Fort Ancient. Now let us turn to the more interesting graves and village sites found in the South Fort, upon the terraces, and in the river bottoms below. A large aboriginal village once existed in the South Fort. There are evidences of many of the circular lodges still apparent.

Primitive man in the Ohio Valley always lived in lodges. For the sake of convenience in description we have divided his towns into two classes; those erected by hunting or traveling parties for residence during a few weeks or months, and those surrounded by fortifications in which he lived permanently or to which he fled when sore pressed by his enemies. Both kind of villages exist at Fort Ancient. Upon the plateau northeast from the North Fort there is a piece

of ground, in extent some six or seven acres, which is covered with flint chips, fragments of pottery, broken stone implements, bones of animals, and other debris resulting from the location of lodges. There are no deep ash-pits or raised circles of earth such as we observe on the sites of permanent villages. It is therefore thought that this village occupied the ground for a brief period of time.

In the South Fort there is quite a large village of a different character. It had covered an area of twenty acres for years. Cooking had been carried on to such an extent that great ash-pits exist eight or ten feet in diameter and from three to five feet in depth. The homes of the people were constructed of heavy saplings forty or fifty feet in length placed in a circle, brought together at the top, and coated with a heavy layer of clay on the outside. When the village was abandoned and the lodges crumbled and decayed, much of the clay fell to the base of the saplings, forming a small circle. These circles, still apparent, give us a good idea of the size of the homes of the aborigines. An examination of the ash-pits resulted in a knowledge of the animals, birds and fishes, which he used for food, the utensils and implements which the women employed for domestic purposes, the weapons used in the chase and in war, the tools necessary for fashioning arrowheads, axes, etc. The ashes in the pits had a wonderful preservative

quality. Hence, when the squaw cast out a broken pot or bones from the meals, or even so minute things as fish ribs, bird bones, and the bones of the smallest animals, they were kept intact through the long centuries for our study and examination.

Nothing is more interesting to the archaeologist than the exploration of a large village site. We often find the rude stone furnace or hearth nearly in its original position with two or three broken pots near it and many split bones (for the extraction of marrow) scattered about. The bones most commonly found in the village sites are those of the deer, wild turkey, bear, squirrel, rabbit, pheasant, channel cat-fish, bass and turtle.

In the ash-pits mingled with the bones of these animals, birds and fishes, we find sharpened bone awls, beads, smoothed stones used for polishing, celts employed in tanning hides for garments, fish-hooks of bone, slender bones from the turkey or rabbit partially sawed through at intervals of one-third to one-half of an inch, presumably unfinished beads. All these were made use of by the women.

Near the village site is a large cemetery from which our party took upwards of two hundred skeletons, all of which were incased in neatly constructed stone graves. The graves lie from two to three and one-half feet from the present surface and are composed of great limestone slabs from two and a half to three feet in

length, and from eighteen to twenty-four inches in width. The body of the deceased was laid in the excavation extended, the arms invariably at the sides, and the limbs straightened. Three or four large slabs were placed upright in a row on each side, one was located at the head and another at the feet, while the largest ones were neatly laid across the top forming the roof. Through the openings between the stones earth has usually infiltrated and covered the skeleton. Occasionally we find a grave over which stones having even edges were laid close together. Such graves are hollow and the skeletons in them are generally well preserved. No objects or ornaments in the two hundred sepulchres examined were found with adults. The love of the mother for the child was evinced in necklaces of beads or small ornaments of shell or stone. Now and then in the little graves of the children we found the most exquisite carvings in shell. Children's graves are frequently placed on each side of the longer grave of the mother and once or twice we have observed the child's grave placed directly on top of that of the woman, probably its mother.

Upon the hillsides surrounding the fortification there are artificial terraces. These have the appearance of roads which have been abandoned so long that dense underbrush and great trees have grown upon them. They vary from twelve to sixteen feet in width and were excavated in the steep

hillsides, the earth taken from the upperside of the terrace being thrown upon the lower. All of them are more than half way down the hillside and splendidly command the river. Upon the terraces are rude stone heaps or mounds containing fragmentary or crushed skeletons of a different tribe from those found inside the stone graves. Some of the stone heaps are over one hundred feet in length, of the width of the terrace, and about eighteen inches in depth. They contain hundreds of wagon-loads of stone. At no point within the fortification are these stone heaps found save on the isthmus or Middle Fort. It is supposed that a few hundred of the tribe attacking Fort Ancient, penetrated the structure at this point, and were interred where they fell.

In the broad bottoms bordering upon the river is a very large village site covering nearly fifty acres of ground. The deposits found are at three depths from the surface and the intervening strata of earth between each period of occupancy were undoubtedly formed by the river in time of floods. The graves of this village are found in large groups of from twenty to thirty each and are usually headed in the same direction. As was remarked upon the graves of the cemetery lying within the South Fort, no ornaments or implements have been placed with the adults but usually with children. The crania are identical with those found in the

cemetery just mentioned, the pottery is of the same texture and decoration, the ash-pits, flint implements, and all other objects are of the same general kind as those of the fortification upon the hills above. We therefore conclude that the greater part of the tribe inhabiting Fort Ancient lived in the river valley in seasons of peace, using their great fortress only in times of war. Undoubtedly they left a strong garrison within the structure continually, as indicated by the numerous evidences of occupancy.

The people of the stone heaps have a skull (dolicocephalic) which differs from those of the stone grave people (brachycephalic.) The village of the stone heap or long-headed race lies upon the plateau a mile and a half north-east of the North Fort. It indicates a large population, but there is no evidence that they remained for any considerable length of time. Because no villages but those of the short-heads are within the fortification and as the long-heads have been buried with great haste upon the terraces in rudely constructed mounds, we are of the opinion that their attack upon the builders of Fort Ancient was unsuccessful and they undoubtedly met with disastrous defeat.

In brief we have set forth above some of the points of interest concerning Fort Ancient. It is impossible in an article limited as this must needs be, to give all our discoveries or all the methods observed in arriv-



ing at our conclusions. We trenched all the village sites in every direction for weeks and weeks. We opened nearly all the stone graves that could be found; we cut sections through the embankments; we dug extensive pits upon the tongues of land around which the great fortification was carried. In the moats and ditches dug at the base of the wall by the builders, we excavated for many yards. We saw that the moats, now filled with rubbish, logs and earth, had once been from six to ten feet in depth, having perpendicular sides. We found broken and entire war hatchets, spear and lance heads, and round stones used as heads for war clubs in the bottom of the ditches, and from such testimony could easily

picture the vain assaults of savage warriors armed with primitive weapons against the impregnable fortress.

From the great age of the forest trees upon the embankments, from the erosions and the formation of gulleys, we were enabled to form a fair idea of the time that must have elapsed since the battle occurred.

This great enclosure so rich in facts, so productive of implements that tell us of the every day life of the people living within its walls, reveals to patient investigators a history which goes far towards dispelling the darkness surrounding the origin and movements of ancient man upon the American continent.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

## THE DEARBORN CANAL IN MONTANA.

DONALD BRADFORD.

To convert the desert into a garden would seem impossible, but the dauntless zeal of American enterprise has not hesitated at undertaking and is rapidly accomplishing this task.

That vast expanse of arid waste, which the Geographers of a generation ago indicated upon their maps as the "Great American Desert," together with those lesser deserts, carved out by the mountain ranges in various of the western States, have undergone a marvelous transformation in recent years. Hundreds of thousands of acres of these lands have been reclaimed by irrigation from their sterile condition, so that where before, were only tufts of the hardy buffalo grass and patches of cactus, there are to-day wheat fields and orchards, and all the beauty and prosperity of ideal agricultural life.

The now fertile fields of Colorado, and of large districts in California and other States of the far western group, bear eloquent testimony to enterprise in this direction, and man's reward for slacking the thirst of the parched earth has been the richest returns which nature has anywhere given.

One of the most notable efforts

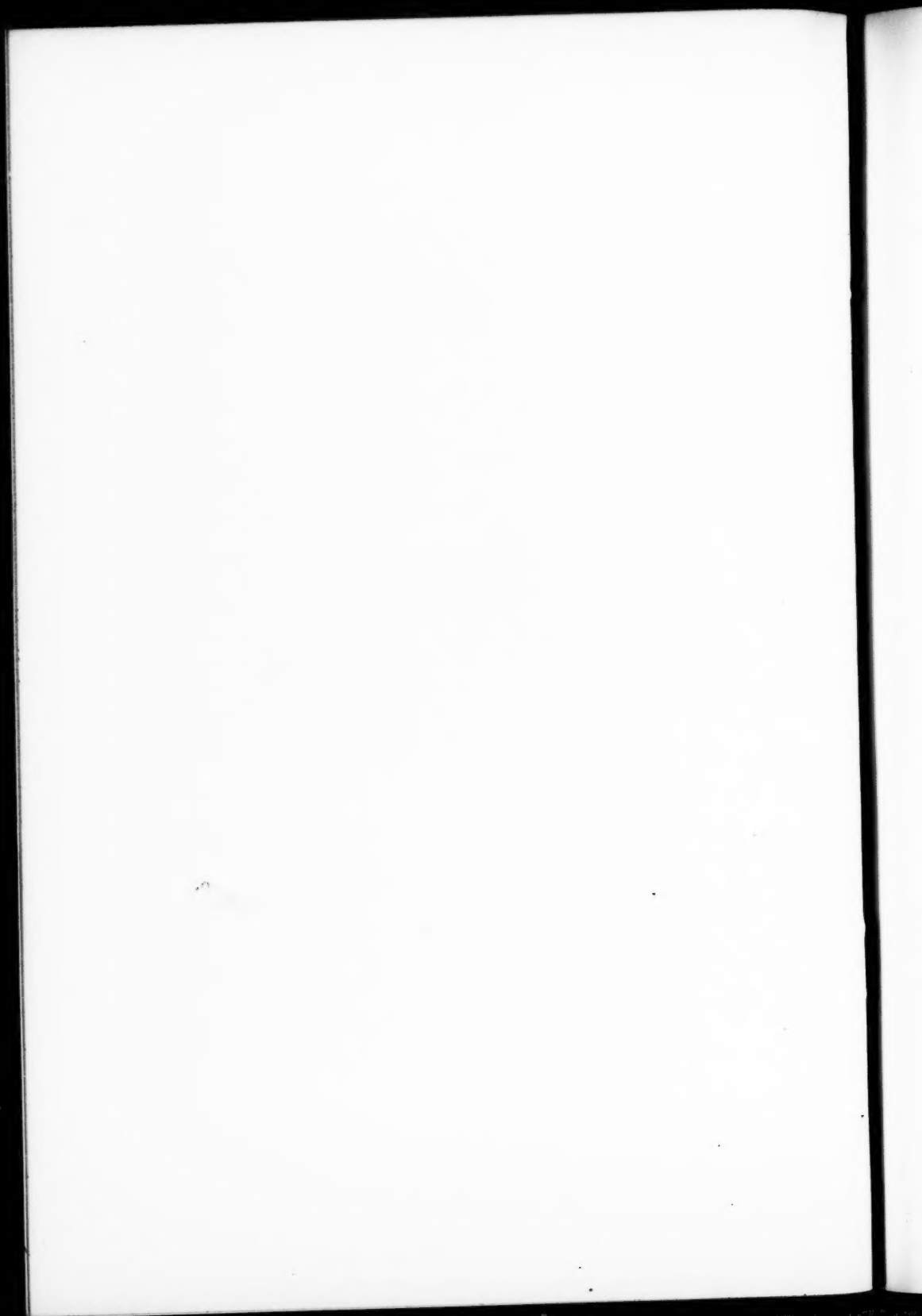
for the redemption to fertility of a vast tract of arid lands, was the project of the Dearborn Canal in Montana. This enterprise is one of the most complete and unique of its kind in the world, comprising about one hundred miles of main water way, with many hundreds of miles of laterals. The canal is about fifty miles north of Helena, and is one of those enterprises that recalls forcibly that admirable adage: "Whoever shall make two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind than the whole race of politicians." This great undertaking bids fair to mark the initiation of a system of irrigation which shall eventually reclaim millions of acres of arid land now lying waste in the very lap of nature.

There are about 500,000 acres of land within the area covered by the canal and laterals, 75,000 acres of which is, with irrigation, highly cultivatable land and which without it would simply be a desolate waste. These results are certain to be far-reaching in demonstrating the utility, wealth and productiveness of the soil of Montana, and in preparing the



*Magazine of Western History*

Donald Bradford



way for a form of investment which persistently followed, will revolutionize the ideas of the outside world, and give to Montana a reputation as an agricultural region second only to that which it now enjoys as a mineral producing country.

Mr. Bradford, with indefatigable and tireless energy has brought this great project through all the stages of innovation and incipency, with how much difficulty, labor, doubt and perplexity none but those intimately connected with the scheme can appreciate.

This remarkable enterprise which presages a happy and prosperous future for the young western State is a monument to the foresight and perseverance, to the splendid ability and energy of its young projector Donald Bradford.

Born in Springfield, Illinois, September 14, 1861, Mr. Bradford is now but thirty years of age, although the work which he has already accomplished might well be the crown of a long and busy life. It is evident, in view of the ancestral stock on both sides from which he sprung, that the powers which have thus early achieved so much are his by lawful inheritance. On his father's side he is descended from William Bradford, the first Public Printer under the Government of the United States. His mother was Adeline Semple, whose oldest brother, James Semple, was at one time a member of the Illinois Supreme Court, and served two

terms prior to the Civil War as United States Senator from Illinois. Another brother was President of the first Constitutional Convention of California, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the same State.

Young Bradford received a good education, and at the age of sixteen left his home, emigrating to Kansas. Here he clerked for some time in a country store; then he went to St. Louis and secured a good position with a wholesale firm where he remained for five years. In 1884 he went to Montana, arriving in Helena without money, almost unknown, and possessing as his sole capital, only those resources which are the natural concomitants of youthful energy and a high-minded purpose. He went to work at any occupation which presented itself, building side-walks by contract, cooking for surveying parties, and acting as hostler on camping-out expeditions. After a stay in Montana of sufficient duration to imbue him with a love for the new country, and open his eyes to its great possibilities, he returned to Illinois, and pursued a course of legal studies. During a portion of the time he attended The Law School of the University of Virginia. In 1886 he returned to Montana, and after a creditable examination, was admitted to the bar of the then Territory.

But his active temperament rebelled against the limitations which would hedge him in, by adhering to a career strictly along the lines of his

profession. Moreover, he soon conceived in the project of the Dearborn canal, the very channel wherein his energies might be most usefully employed, in developing the great commonwealth with which his future was to be identified.

That the project, at length, has proved a magnificent success financially, is attested by the fact that the Canal stocks are now held at a high premium, while Mr. Bradford is turning his attention to the settlement of the surrounding country with a desirable class of agricultural colonists.

In the winter of 1889-1890, Mr. Bradford, who had been instrumental in organizing the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Helena, was elected Secretary of that body and during the spring of 1890, largely as the result of his active efforts, it became one of the largest and most enterprising and influential bodies of the kind in the west. Much was done that aided materially in the advancement of the interests of the city. Through the Chamber of Commerce information of the resources of Montana and of the growth and development of Helena, was systematically transfused through a thousand and one channels which reached capital awaiting investment and dissipated erroneous and unfavorable views entertained for years by eastern people as to the climate, people and resources of Montana. This result was due to no one more than to Mr. Brad-

ford, whose mind and pen were constantly active replying to inquiries and furnishing carefully compiled information. As a result of his healthful enthusiasm, energy and toil in behalf of the city, he was nominated by the Democratic party for the office of Mayor, and after one of the most spirited municipal contests the city of Helena has ever witnessed, he was elected by a handsome majority to the mayoralty of a city at that time concededly republican. He served one term in office, being the youngest Chief Magistrate that had ever presided over the city. His administration was noted for honesty, integrity and an effort to elevate the office above the level of party politics. His appointments were excellent and reflected credit upon his judgment.

He was independent, fearless and aggressive, with a high sense of the duties and responsibilities of his office, and with a determination to maintain and uphold them, elevating the standard of right high above the shifting winds of popular applause or partisan discontent.

Mr. Bradford is at present president and principal stockholder of the Northwestern Abstract Company of Helena. He was married in 1888 to Miss Esther Fox of Springfield, Illinois, and have one child, Lucy Semple Bradford.

Mr. Bradford's interest in the growth and welfare of Helena is active, intense and untiring. He is constantly working for the good of the



city in which he is largely interested, personally and as the representative of large capital. He is one of the most optimistic of that class of men whose enthusiasm, directed and concentrated into practical channels, has done so much for Helena and its people and has no sympathy for the public pessimist, the man who stands opposed to progress. Few of his ventures have proven failures and the result is not alone due to his invincible energy, but to his supreme confidence in the outcome of all well-directed efforts. He believes there is no satisfaction comparable to the

contemplation of the rich-yielding harvest gratefully responding to generous toil. At an age when most men have only begun seriously to consider the problem of existence, he has recorded to his credit, achievements which might win the renown and fill the frame-work of a useful life. His perseverance, his energy, his comprehension of the forces necessary to the development of the new West have made him a valuable coadjutor to the young men who have infused new life into the older and more conservative elements of the community.

C. P. CONNOLLY.

MADAM KNIGHT AND HER JOURNAL.

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In a little volume of 129 pages, published in New York city by Wilder & Campbell in 1825, a curious contribution to the scant American literature of the early colonial period, which had been hidden away in manuscript form for a hundred and twenty-one years, was given to the world. The book consisted of "the journals of Madam Knight and Rev. Mr. Buckingham, from the original manuscripts, written in the years 1704 and 1710," and was edited by Theodore Dwight, a brilliant journalist and one of the pioneer *litterateurs* of the first half of the present century.

The journal of Madam Knight was much the more important part of the contents of the volume. It is an account in the form of a diary, of a journey made on horseback from Boston to New York and return, in the fall and winter of 1704-5, by Mrs. Sarah Kemble Knight of the former city, and it is not merely interesting as a quaint and quite remarkable literary product, but constitutes a valuable aid to the student of history in its striking portrayal of contemporary life and customs. All that was known about the author at the time of this first publication of the jour-

nal, was summed up in the opening paragraph of Mr. Dwight's introduction: "This is not a work of fiction, as the scarcity of old American manuscripts may induce some to imagine, but it is a faithful copy from a diary in the author's own hand-writing, compiled soon after her return home, as it appears from notes recorded daily while on the road. She was a resident of Boston, and a lady of uncommon literary attainments as well as great taste and strength of mind. She was called Madam Knight out of respect to her character, according to a custom once common in New England, but what was her family name the publishers have not been able to discover."

With such a confession from the editor, of absolute ignorance of the most meagre details concerning Madam Knight, it was quite natural that the public should regard with suspicion the claims of antiquity made for the alleged journal. The fact that Washington Irving had but recently published that immortal joke, the "History of New York," and some other sketches found among "the posthumous papers of the late Mr. Diedrich Knickerbocker," did not

tend either to inspire confidence that Mr. Dwight had not been deceived by a more careful deception along the same line, and especially so since the journal in question was clever enough to have been written in the beginning of the nineteenth instead of the eighteenth century. That it was, in short, the skillfully executed performance of some modern writer, in imitation of McPherson's "Poems of Ossian" and Chatterton's forgeries of the Rowley manuscripts, was the common opinion of most of the critics who took an interest in the subject. Writing in 1858, William R. Deane, one of those to whom we are most indebted for the final clearing up of the mystery, testifies to this general skepticism. "When we first saw this journal," he says, "it was stated quite confidently that it was a fiction, written by the late Samuel L. Knapp."

But notwithstanding the apochryphal character supposed to attach to the journal, it afforded the inspiration for an article on "Traveling in America," which appeared in "Blackwood's Magazine" in the latter part of 1825, and contained copious quotations from *Madam Knight*. And this article in turn, in January, 1826, was reprinted from "Blackwood's" in the "Museum of Foreign Literature and Science," published at Philadelphia. In 1843, or thereabouts, an old volume of the "Museum" containing this article, caught the eye of William R. Deane, and

created a desire to read the entire journal. Subsequently he secured a copy of the little book published in 1825, which has been described, and its perusal only served to increase his interest and incite him to begin a search to discover the truth concerning the authorship of the journal, and the identity of *Madam Knight*, if such a person had ever really existed.

It is evident that Mr. Deane, himself, was not at first over-confident as to the authenticity of the document. "On first reading," he says, "her journal had the air of romance, and, apparently, like Sir Walter Scott's description of the wonderful volume of Michael of Belwearie in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'"

'It had much of glorious might,  
To make a lady seem a Knight.'

"Yet," he adds, "we are now enabled from our Boston records, in connection with those of New London, Norwich and New Haven, to state that this lady was no fictitious Knight. She was a native of Boston. Her journey to New York is veritable history, and however romantic, is perfectly true."

But Mr. Deane was not immediately successful in his search. Old Boston records were searched without result, and no fruitful clue was discovered until 1852, when Miss Frances M. Caulkins published her "History of New London." It was then found that *Madam Knight*, some years after her memorable journey, had moved from Boston to New London and in

this latter place had become a figure of sufficient local prominence to require mention in Miss Caulkins' work. Guided by this clue, references to Madam Knight were at length discovered in the records of Boston, New London, Norwich and New Haven, and by combining these, a somewhat patchwork, but nevertheless quite satisfactory outline of her life is provided.

We learn from these sources that Madam Knight was Sarah Kemble, daughter of Captain Thomas Kemble, a merchant who resided, first in Charlestown and later in Boston, where Sarah was born on the 19th of April, 1666. Very little is known concerning Captain Kemble, except that he was evidently wealthy, for those times, and built a fine house in Boston. He seems also to have been something of a voyager as well as a merchant, and an old chronicle tells how in 1656 he celebrated his return from a three years' trip abroad, by becoming a malefactor in the Puritan sense by violating the sanctity of the Sabbath day. According to the records he was placed for two hours in the public stocks for his "lewd and unseemly behavior" in kissing his wife "publicly" on the Sabbath day, upon the doorstep of their house. Thus the un-Puritan liberality and freedom of fancy which we find in Madam Knight's Journal is the more easily accounted for when we consider this ungodly if entirely natural greeting of her parents. Who can tell but this unholy

transaction may have furnished the theme for one of Dr. Increase Mather's learned discourses!

Madam Knight's mother was Elizabeth Trarice, concerning whom little more has been ascertained than her name and the date of her death, December 19, 1712. There were six children including Madam Knight—three sons and three daughters—and of these Madam Knight was the only one living in 1714. Her oldest brother, John, was a cooper in New York city, where he died about the year 1698. He left considerable property which was to be used in succession by Madam Knight's mother, Madam Knight, and Madam Knight's daughter, Elizabeth.

It was probably some business connected with the settlement, either of this estate or that of her husband, who appears to have died early, which led to Madam Knight's journey in 1704. The allusions in the journal to the motive of the journey are too scant and vague to arbitrarily determine this point, but seem nevertheless quite conclusive. After describing her journey to, and visit in New Haven, Madam Knight says: "Being by this time well recruited and rested after my journey, my business lying unfinished by some concerns at New York depending thereupon, my kinsman, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge of New Haven, must needs take a journey there before it could be accomplished. I resolved to go there in company with him and a man of the

town which I engaged to wait on me there." And further on, in describing her return: "Having here transacted the affair I went upon, and some other that fell in the way, after about a fortnight's stay there I left New York, with no little regret, and Thursday, December 21, set out for New Haven."

Upon her arrival once again in New Haven among her kinsfolk, she becomes more explicit as to the nature of her business. "Being now well recruited and fit for business, I discoursed the persons I was concerned with, that we might finish in order to my return to Boston. They delayed, as they had hitherto done, hoping to tire my patience. But I was resolute to stay and see an end of the matter, let it be never so much to my disadvantage. So January 9th, they come again, and promise the Wednesday following to go through the distribution of the estate, which they delayed till Thursday and they come with new amusements. But at length by the mediation of that holy, good gentleman, the Rev. Mr. James Pierpont, the minister of New Haven, and with the advice and assistance of other our good friends we come to an accommodation and distribution, which having finished, though not till February, the man that waited on me to York taking the charge of me, I "sit" out for Boston."

Captain Richard Knight, husband of Madam Knight, is another personage regarding whom only the most

meagre information has been obtained. He lived at Boston, and Madam Knight was his second wife. He was probably captain of a merchantman, and it appears was abroad at the time of his wife's journey, and died abroad some time after. At all events, in 1714, Madam Knight calls herself a widow, while in certain deeds of land at Norwich, of about the same date, in which she appears as grantee, she is designated as "widow and shop-keeper."

Madam Knight had only one child, Elizabeth, who was married in Boston on October 1st, 1713, by the famous Increase Mather to Colonel John Livingston of New London. It is evident that Madam Knight either accompanied, or almost immediately followed her daughter to New London, since her name now begins to appear in the records of real estate transactions at that place and the neighboring town of Norwich.

"The New London records," says Miss Caulkins in a letter regarding Madam Knight written to Mr. Deane, and dated May 23, 1858, "affords the most striking evidences of the magnitude of her land operations. The land of the Mohegan Indians were then included within the bounds of New London and here, beside the reservation for the Indians, was a large tract fast filling up with white settlers, but still affording some range to speculation." Miss Caulkins cites, in detail, two deeds recording pur-

chases of land by Madam Knight, and remarks: "These two transactions will serve in some degree to show the business-like character of Madam Knight, and the prominent as well as important position she held in society."

Miss Caulkins sums up her many-sided and vigorous character as follows: "Mrs Knight was a woman of considerable distinction in her day. She certainly possessed more than a common portion of energy, talent and education. She wrote poetry and diaries, transacted various kinds of business, speculated in Indian lands, and at different times kept a tavern, managed a shop of merchandise, and cultivated a farm."

In 1717 Madam Knight presented a silver communion cup to the Norwich church, and this gracious act received immediate recognition and reward from the venerable deacons, as is attested by the following entry in an old Norwich record: "August 12, 1717. The town grants liberty to Mrs. Sarah Knight to sitt in the pue where she use to sitt in ye meeting house."

But in spite of all her good qualities we find a little outbreak a few months later, in which one is at once reminded of her father's "lewd and unseemly behaviour" in kissing his wife. Like him she is presented by the tell-tale records as a malefactor in that easily scandalized Puritan community. On March 26, 1718, she was indicted together with six other

persons, "for selling strong drink to the Indians," and was fined twenty shillings and costs. She paid the fine, but seems not to have pleaded guilty in her own person, since the record adds that "Mrs. Knight accused her maid, Ann Clark, of the fact."

In her later years, Madam Knight appears to have divided her residence between the towns of New London and Norwich. She had a pew in the church of each place. Her dwelling house was in Norwich, but her farms were located near New London. On one of these she opened a tavern for the accomodation of travellers. She died at Norwich but her body was taken to New London and buried in the old churchyard. A crumbling headstone marks her resting place, upon which is inscribed the following lines:

" Here Lyeth The Body  
Of Mrs. Sarah Knight  
Who Died Sept. the 25th,  
1727, In The 62d Year  
Of Her Age."

Interesting and corroborative testimony concerning Madam Knight is to be seen in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. It is a manuscript in the handwriting of Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, of Boston, granddaughter of Dr. Cotton Mather. It has been bound in with a copy of the journal of Madam Knight, and gives a brief account of her from which we quote:

"In October, 1704, she made a journey to New York to claim some



property there. She returned on horseback in March, 1705. Soon after her return she opened a school for children. Dr. Franklin and Dr. Samuel Mather, received their first rudiments of education from her. The force of Madam Knight's diamond ring was displayed on several panes of glass in the old Mansion house. In the year 1763 Dr. Mather (whose wife had inherited the property) had the house new glazed, and one pane of

lately printed must have been from some old manuscript of hers, as she was an original genius. Our ideas of Madam are from hearing Dr. Franklin and Dr. Mather converse about their old school mistress."

This brings us to the special consideration of Madam Knight's journal—the story of the episode which, as the above lines indicate, evidently impressed her as the great event of her life. The manuscript from which



SOUTHEAST CORNER BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE  
IN NEW YORK IN 1700.

glass was preserved as a curiosity till in 1765 it was lost at the conflagration when Charleston was burnt by the British, June 17th. The lines on the pane of glass were committed to memory by the present writer.

"Through many toils and many fights  
I have returned, poor Sarah Knights.  
Over great rocks and many stones  
God has preserv'd from fracter'd bones."

From the circumstances attending the account we think the book

the first publication of the journal was made, was written in a small blank book in Madam Knight's handwriting, and was handed down from generation to generation by a line of strangers. Mrs. Livingston, Madam Knight's daughter and only child, received the manuscript from her mother, but died herself without children. The manuscript came into the hands of a Mrs. Sarah Christophers, one of the administrators of Mrs.

Livingston's estate, who transmitted the document to her children as a valuable heirloom. Mrs. Ichabod Wetmore of Middletown, Connecticut, a descendant of Mrs. Christophers, received the journal in the line of succession, and gave it to Mr. Theodore Dwight to edit for publication.

Mr. Deane has recorded that Mr. Dwight once stated to him "that unfortunately all but a single leaf of the original manuscript had been destroyed." This leaf Mr. Dwight had at the time, at his residence in New York city.

It seems appropriate, even if it extends this article to a length which was not intended, to give extracts from the journal sufficiently complete to fairly illustrate both its literary excellence and historical value. The reader who wishes to make a further examination of the quaint document will probably be able to find a copy in any well equipped library. The peculiarities of spelling of Madam Knight's day have been discarded as somewhat beclouding the sense without adding anything of interest from the standpoint from which we wish to review her work. She begins abruptly, without any prefatory remarks on the events leading up to the project of her journey as follows:

"Monday, October the 2d. 1704—About three o'clock (afternoon) I began my journey from Boston to New Haven, being about 200 miles. My

kinsman, Captain Robert Luist, waited on me as far as Dedham, where I was to meet the western post. I visited the Rev. Mr. Belcher, the minister of the town, and tarried there till evening in hopes the post would come along. But he not coming, I resolved to go to Billings's where he used to lodge, being twelve miles further."

Unfortunately the first part of the narrative is twice interrupted by the loss of half a page of the manuscript at the time Mr. Dwight received it. It appears, however, that Madam Knight had some trouble to procure a guide to "Billings's" on account of the lateness of the hour, but that she at length secured the services of a man named John, by the payment of "half a piece of eight and a dram."

She gives some account of John and of her night ride with him. "His shade on his horse resembled a globe on a gate post. His habit, horse and furniture, its looks and goings incomparably answered the rest. Thus jogging on with an easy pace, my guide telling me it was dangerous to ride hard in the night (which his horse had the sense to avoid), he entertained me with the adventures he had passed by late riding and imminent dangers he had escaped, so that, remembering the heroes in 'Parismus' and the 'Knight of the Oracle,' I didn't know but I had met with a prince disguised. When we had ridden about an hour, we came into a thick swamp, which by reason of a

great fog, very much startled me, it being now very dark. But nothing dismayed John; he had encountered a thousand and a thousand such swamps, having a universal knowledge in the woods, and readily answered all my inquiries which were not a few. In about an hour or something more after we left the swamp, we came to Billings's, where I was to lodge."

From this point, on the following morning, the journey begins with the postman; says the journal: "Tuesday, October the 3d, about eight in the morning, I, with the post, proceeded forward without observing anything remarkable; and about two (afternoon) arrived at the post's second stage, where the western post met him and exchanged letters. Here, having called for something to eat, the woman brought in a twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter, and laying it on the board, tugged for life to bring it into a capacity to spread, which having with great pains accomplished, she served in a dish of pork and cabbage, I suppose the remains of dinner. The sauce was of a deep purple which I thought was boiled in her dye kettle; the bread was Indian, and everything on the table served agreeable to these. I, being hungry, got a little down, but my stomach was soon cloyed, and what cabbage I swallowed served me for a cud the whole day after.

"Having here discharged the ordinary for self and guide (as I under-

stood was the custom), about three (afternoon) went on with my third guide who rode very hard; and having crossed Providence ferry, we came to a river which they generally ride through. But I dared not venture; so the post got a lad and canoe to carry me to t'other side, and he rode through and led my horse. The canoe was very small and shallow, so that when we were in she seemed ready to take in water, which greatly terrified me and caused me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes steady, not daring so much as to lodge my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than t'other, nor so much as think on Lot's wife, for a wry thought would have upset our wherry; but was soon put out of this pain by feeling the canoe on shore, which I as soon almost saluted with my feet, and rewarding my sculler again mounted and made the best of our way forwards.

"The road here was very even and the way pleasant, it being now near sunset. But the post told me we had near fourteen miles to ride to the next stage (where we were to lodge). I asked him of the rest of the road, foreseeing we must travel in the night. He told me there was a bad river we were to ride through which was so very fierce a horse could sometimes hardly stem it; but it was but narrow, and we should soon be over. I cannot express the concern of mind this relation set me in; no

thoughts but those of the dangerous river could entertain my imagination, and they were as formidable as various, still tormenting me with blackest ideas of my approaching fate—sometimes seeing myself drowning, other whiles drowned, and at the best like a holy sister just come out of a spiritual bath in dripping garments.

“Now was the glorious luminary, with his swift coursers arrived at his stage, leaving poor me with the rest of this part of the lower world in darkness, with which we were soon surrounded. The only glimmering we now had was from the spangled skies, whose imperfect reflections rendered every object formidable. Each lifeless trunk with its shattered limbs appeared an armed enemy; and every little stump like a ravenous devourer. Nor could I so much as discern my guide, when at any distance, which added to the terror.

“Thus absolutely lost in thought and dying with the very thoughts of drowning, I came up with the post, whom I did not see till even with his horse; he told me he stopped for me, and we rode on very deliberately a few paces when we entered a thicket of trees and shrubs, and I perceived by the horse's going we were on the descent of a hill which, as we came nearer the bottom, was totally dark with the trees that surrounded it. But I knew by the going of the horse we had entered the water, which my guide told me was the hazardous

river he had told me of; and he, riding up close to my side, bid me not fear—we should be over immediately. I now rallied all the courage I was mistress of, knowing that I must either venture my fate of drowning, or be left like the children in the wood. So, as the post bid me, I gave reins to my nag, and sitting as steady as just before in the canoe, in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which he told me was the *Narragansett* country.

“Here we found great difficulty in traveling, the way being very narrow, and on each side the trees and bushes gave us very unpleasant welcomes with their branches and boughs, which we could not avoid, it being so exceedingly dark. My guide as before, so now, put on harder than I with my weary bones could follow; so left me and the way behind him. Now returned my distressed apprehensions of the place where I was; the doleful woods, my company next to none, going I knew not whither, and encompassed with terrifying darkness, the least of which was enough to startle a more masculine courage. Added to which the reflections as in the afternoon of the day, that my call was very questionable, which till then I had not so prudently considered as I ought.

“Now coming to the foot of a hill, I found great difficulty in ascending, but being got to the top, was there amply recompensed with the friendly appearance of the kind *Conductress* of

the night, just then advancing above the horizontal line. The raptures which the sight of that fair planet produced in me, caused me for the moment to forget my present weariness and past toils; and inspired me for most of the remaining way with very diverting thoughts, some of which with the other occurrences of the day, I reserved to note down when I should come to my stage. My thoughts on the sight of the moon were to this purpose:

Fair Cynthia, all the homage that I may  
Unto a creature, unto thee I pay;  
In lonesome woods to meet so kind a guide,  
To me's more worth than all the world beside.  
Some joy I felt just now, when safe got o'er  
Yon surly river to this rugged shore,  
Deeming rough welcomes from these clownish trees,  
Better than lodgings with Nereides.  
Yet swelling fears surprise; all dark appears—  
Nothing but light can dissipate those fears,  
My fainting vitals can't lend strength to say,  
But softly whisper, O! I wish 'twere day,  
The murmur hardly warmed the ambient air,  
Ere thy bright aspect rescues from despair;  
Makes the old Hag her sable mantle loose,  
And a bright joy does through my soul diffuse,  
The boisterous trees now lend a passage free,  
And pleasant prospects thou givest light to see.

"From hence we kept on with more ease than before; the way being smooth and even, the night warm and serene, and the tall and thick trees at a distance, especially when the moon glared light through the branches, filled my imagination with the pleasant delusions of a sumptuous city, filled with famous buildings and churches with their spiring steeples, balconies, galleries, and I know not what grandeurs which I had heard of, and which the stories of foreign countries had given me the idea of.

"Here stood a loft church—there is a steeple,  
And there the grand parade—O! see the people!  
That famous castle there, were I but nigh,  
To see the moat and bridge and walls so high—  
They're very fine! says my deluded eye.

"Being thus agreeably entertained without a thought of anything but thoughts themselves, I was suddenly roused from these pleasing imaginations by the post's sounding his horn, which assured me he was arrived at the stage where we were to lodge; and that music was then most musical and agreeable to me.

"Being come to Mr. Haven's, I was very civilly received and courteously entertained in a clean, comfortable house; and the good woman was very active in helping off my riding clothes, and then asked what I would eat. I told her I had some chocolate, if she would prepare it; which with the help of some milk and a little clean brass kettle, she soon effected to my satisfaction. I then betook me to my apartment which was a little room parted from the kitchen by a single board partition; where, after I had noted the occurrences of the past day, I went to bed which, though pretty hard, yet neat and handsome. But I could get no sleep because of the clamor of some of the town toppers in the next room who were entered into a strong debate concerning the signification of the name of their country; viz. Narragansett. One said it was named so by the Indians, because there grew a brier there of a prodigious height and bigness, the like hardly ever known, called by the

Indians Narragansett; and quotes an Indian of so barbarous a name for his author, that I could not write it.

"His antagonist replied no—it was from a spring it had its name, which he well knew where it was, which was extreme cold in summer, and as hot as could be imagined in the winter, which was much resorted to by the natives, and by them called Narragansett (hot and cold), and that was the original of their place's name—with a thousand impertinencies not worth notice, which he uttered with such a roaring voice and thundering blows with the fist of wickedness on the table, that it pierced my very head. I heartily fretted and wished them tongue-tied; but with as little success as a friend of mine once, who was (as she said) kept a whole night awake on a journey by a country lieutenant and a sergeant, ensign and a deacon, contriving how to bring a triangle into a square. They kept calling for t'other gill which, while they were swallowing, was some intermission; but presently, like oil to fire, increased the flame. I set my candle on a chest by the bedside and sitting up, fell to my old way of composing my resentments in the following manner:

"I ask thy aid, O potent rum!  
To charm these wrangling topers dumb.  
Thou hast their giddy brains possessed—  
The man confounded with the beast—  
And I, poor I, can get no rest.  
Intoxicate them with thy fumes!  
O still their tongues till morning comes:

"And I know not but my wishes took effect; for the dispute soon ended

with t'other dram; and so good night.

"About four in the morning we set out for Kingston (for so was the town called) with a French doctor in our company. He and the post put on very furiously, so that I could not keep up with them, only as now and then they would stop till they saw me. This road was poorly furnished with accommodations for travellers, so that we were forced to ride twenty-two miles by the post's account, but nearer thirty by mine, before we could bait so much as our horses, which I exceedingly complained of. But the post encouraged me by saying we should be well accommodated anon at Mr. Devil's, a few miles further. But I questioned whether we ought to go to the devil to be helped out of affliction. However like the rest of deluded souls that post to the infernal den, we made all possible speed to this devil's habitation; where alighting, in full assurance of good accommodation we were going in. But meeting his two daughters, as I supposed twins—they so nearly resembled each other, both in features and habit, and looked as old as the devil himself, and quite as ugly—we desired entertainment, but could hardly get a word out of them, till with our importunity telling them our necessity, etc., they called the old sophister, who was as sparing of his words as his daughters had been, and no, or none were the replies he made us to our demands. He differed only in this from the old



fellow in t'other country; he let us depart. However, I thought it proper to warn poor travelers to endeavor to avoid falling into circumstances like ours, which at our next stage I sat down and did as followeth:

"May all that dread the cruel fiend of night  
Keep on, and not at this cursed mansion light.  
'Tis hell; tis hell! and devils here do dwell:  
Here dwells the Devil—surely this is hell.  
Nothing but wants; a drop to cool your tongue  
Can't be procured these cruel fiends among.  
Plenty of horrid grins and looks severe,  
Hunger and thirst, but pity's banished here—  
The right hand keep, if hell on earth you fear!"

As has been said, Madam Knight's journal adds to its literary charm a considerable historical value. Her quaint and detailed characterization of the people she meets, leaves a distinct impression upon the mind, while she contributes not a little to our aggregate knowledge of conditions and customs in her day. Having arrived in New Haven, Madam Knight tells us in her journal that she "took some time to rest after so long and toilsome a journey," and then informed herself "of the manners and customs of the place." The results of her observation she records as follows:

"They are governed by the same laws as we in Boston (or little differing), throughout this whole Colony of Connecticut, and much the same way of Church government, and many of them good, sociable people and I hope religious too, but a little too much independent in their principles and as I have been told, were formerly in their zeal very rigid in

their administrations towards such as their laws made offenders, even to a harmless kiss or innocent merriment among young people. Whipping being a frequent and counted an easy punishment, about which as other crimes, the Judges were absolute in their sentences.

"Their diversions in this part of the country are on lecture days and training days mostly. On the former there is riding from town to town, and on the training days the youth divert themselves by shooting at the target as they call it (but it very much resembles a pillory), where he that hits nearest the white has some yards of red ribbon presented him, which being tied to his hat-band, the two ends streaming down his back, he is led away in triumph with great applause, as the winners of the Olympic games. They generally marry very young; the males oftener, as I am told, under twenty than above; they generally make public weddings, and have a way something singular (as they say) in some of them; viz., just before joining hands the bridegroom quits the place, who is soon followed by the bridesmen and as it were, dragged back to duty—being the reverse to the former practice among us to steal mistress bride.

"There are a great plenty of oysters all along by the sea side as far as I rode in the colony, and those very good. And they generally lived very well and comfortably in their families, but too indulgent (especially

the farmers) to their slaves, suffering too great familiarity from them, permitting them to sit at the table and eat with them (as they say to save time), and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived near the town where I lodged, who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctually perform, which caused some hard words between them; but at length they put the matter to arbitration and bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named—which done, the arbitrators having heard the allegations of both parties, ordered the master to pay forty shillings to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the matter ended; the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

"There are everywhere in the towns as I passed, a number of Indians, the natives of the country, and are the most "salvage of all the salvages" of that kind that I had ever seen; little or no care taken (as I heard upon inquiry) to make them otherwise. They have in some places lands of their own, and governed by laws of their own making. They marry many wives and at pleasure put them away, and on the least dislike or fickle humor, on either side, saying, "Stand away," to one another is a sufficient divorce. And indeed those uncomely "Stand aways" are

too much in vogue among the English in this (indulgent) colony, as their records plentifully prove, and that on very trivial matters, of which some have been told me, but are not proper to be related by a female pen, though some of that foolish sex have had too large a share in the story.

"If the natives commit any crime on their own precincts among themselves the English take no cognizance of, but if on English ground they are punishable by our laws. They mourn for their dead by blacking their faces and cutting their hair, after an awkward and frightful manner, but can't bear you should mention the names of their dead relations to them. They trade most for rum, for which they hazard their very lives, and the English fit them generally as well, by seasoning it plentifully with water.

"They give the title of merchant to every trader who rate their goods according to the time and specie they pay in. "Pay is grain, pork, beef, etc., at the prices set by the General Court that year; "Money" or "good hard money," as sometimes silver coin is termed by them; also "Wampum, as money" is provisions, as aforesaid, one-third cheaper than as the Assembly or General Court sets it; and "Trust" as they and the merchant agree for time.

Now, when the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, "Is your pay ready?"

Perhaps the chap replies, "Yes." "What do you pay in?" says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a six penny knife, in "pay" it is twelve pence—in "pay as money," eight pence, and "hard money," its own price, viz., six pence. It seems a very intricate way of trade and what *lex mercatoria* had not thought of.

"We may observe here the great necessity and benefit both of education and conversation; for these people have as large a portion of mother wit, and sometimes a larger, than those who have been brought up in cities; but for want of improvements, render themselves almost ridiculous. They are generally very plain in their dress, throughout all the colony, as I saw, and follow one another in their modes; that you may know where they belong, especially the women—meet them where you will.

"Their chief red letter day is St. Election, which is annually observed according to charter, to choose their governor—a blessing they can never be thankful enough for, as they will find, if ever it be their hard fortune to lose it. The present governor in Connecticut is the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., a gentleman of an ancient and honorable family, whose father was governor here sometime before, and his grandfather had been governor of the Massachusetts. This gentleman is a very courteous and affable person, much given to hospi-

tility, and has by his good services gained the affections of the people as much as any who had been before him in that post."

One of the most interesting passages in the journal is Madam Knight's description of New York City where she tarried for two weeks in mid-winter. It must be remembered that Boston and not New York, was the metropolis of the new world at that time, Boston containing a population of ten thousand and New York only half that number. Madam Knight's New York is a "well compacted city," where they "are not strict in keeping the Sabbath" and "treat with good liquors liberally."

We see in embryo a characterization of our modern city, as distinct from Puritan Boston. And in view of their respective populations in 1704, we cannot regard the free-and-easy going character of the New York of to-day as the mere result of her larger population, but rather as the inevitable development of the legacy of liberal customs left us by our Dutch ancestors in contrast to the rigor of the New England Puritans.

Madam Knight's journal says:

"The city of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a commodious river which is a fine harbor for shipping. The buildings, brick generally, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The bricks in some of the houses are of divers colors and laid in checkers, being glazed look very

agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the "summers" and joists are plained and kept very white scoured, as so are all the partitions if made of boards. The fire-places have no jambs (as ours have) but the backs run flush with the walls and the hearth is of tiles and is as far out into the room at the ends as before the fire, which is generally five foot in the lower rooms and the piece over where the "mantle" tree should be, is made as ours with joiners' work, as I suppose is fastened to iron rods inside.

"The house where the vendue was, had chimney corners like ours, and they and the hearths were laid with the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean and so are the walls of the kitchen which had a brick floor. They were making great preparations to receive their governor, Lord Cornbury, from the Jerseys, and for that end raised the militia to guard him on shore to the fort.

"They are generally of the Church of England and have a New England gentleman for their minister and a very fine church set out with all customary requisites. There are also Dutch and divers conventicles as they call them, viz., Baptist, Quakers, etc. They are not strick in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had been, but seem to deal

with great exactness as far as I can see or deal with. They are sociable to one another and courteous and civil to strangers, and fare well in their houses. The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women; in their habit go loose, wear French muches, which are like a cap and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare which are set out with jewels of a large size and many in number; and their fingers hooped with rings, some with large stones in them of many colors; as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as young.

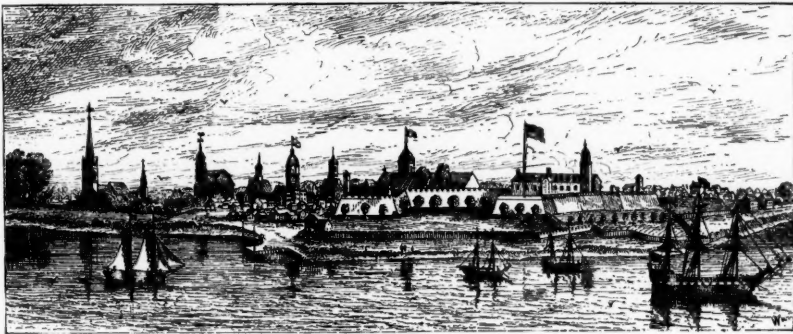
"They have vendues very frequently and make their earnings very well by them, for they treat with good liquor liberally and the customers drink as liberally and generally pay for't as well by paying for that which they bid up briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, though sometimes good pennyworths are got there. Their diversion in the winter is riding sleighs about three or four miles out of town where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery and some go to friend's houses who handsomely treat them.

"Mr. Burroughs carried his spouse and daughter and myself out to one Madame Doves, a gentlewoman that lived at a farmhouse who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six dishes and choice beer and metheglin,

cider, etc., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we met fifty or sixty sleighs that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they will turn out of the path for none except a loaded cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, their tables being as free to their neighbors as to themselves."

No one can fail to remark the active imagination and quaint humor

lish literature, and absolutely nothing on her own continent to serve as model or encouragement to her play of fancy. The *Spectator*, to which Franklin acknowledged that he owed so much, had not been conceived at the time of her journey; Richardson's "Pamela" did not appear till thirty-six years after her narrative had been composed; while neither of the others of that pioneer group—Fielding, Smollett or Sterne—had yet been born; and Shakespeare,



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which is breathed into this journal, and we cannot repress a slight feeling of resentment against the stern Puritan civilization which discouraged this manifest genius from the growth and development which a literary career would have afforded. Interesting in itself, Madam Knight's journal becomes remarkable when we consider the time and place in which it was written.

Its author had very little in Eng-

though nearly a hundred years dead, still lacked half a century of the beginnings of his world-wide popularity, so that it is quite possible, perhaps probable, that Madam Knight at that time may have never heard of him. In her own New England she had in the way of literature, only the sonorous sermons of Thomas Hooker and John Cotton, and more especially of the two elder Mathers—such portentous expositions as that of Increase

Mather on "Blazing stars" as "Heaven's alarm to a sinful world," and Increase and Cotton Mather on witches and witchcraft.  
those lugubrious dissertations of both FRANK ALLABEN.

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## A PAGE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY.

ROBERT HAMILTON BISHOP, JR. LL.D.

It is a trite remark, that all things are relative in this world. Among all earthly things surely human greatness is the most subject to the conditions of relativity. The wise man of old said: "Better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." Yet I greatly fear that many a man who has ruled his own spirit well will want for remembrance, while men still praise the redoubtable Democritus Poliorcetes. One thing it seems impossible to learn, that it is better and nobler and greater to serve a cause than to serve self. There is surely no higher service than complete dedication of a man's life to some worthy cause. Yet if a man reaches this point of self-surrender he is looked on as a sort of natural curiosity, even if he is not condemned as unambitious and unprogressive, yet when we are brought near to such men we gradually learn to appreciate and admire them. Their serene consciousness of the overpowering claims of duty, their calm perseverance in a course of devotion to an external object, begets in us confidence, and awakens in us affection. It is only fitting that one who gave his life for others should find some one to com-

memorate his faithfulness, and to point out how he rose to a place of great importance by his devoted life. Such an one was the late Professor Robert Hamilton Bishop, LL.D.

When John Cleves Symmes made his arrangements for the purchase of a tract of land in the Northwest Territory in 1787, the Congress of the Old Confederation provided for the setting aside out of his purchase of one township of land for a University. Financial complications prevented the carrying out of the original plan, but after many failures and vicissitudes a township of land was at length secured for the endowment of a University beyond the great Miami, and on the very border of the present State of Indiana. At last in 1824 the trustees were ready to begin the work of higher education. Prof. Robert Hamilton Bishop, then the Professor of ancient languages in Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., was chosen President, and in the autumn the college was opened.

Dr. Bishop was a man well advanced in age, strong, earnest and able. He had come to America early in the century at the invitation of Dr. John

H. Mason, as a missionary. A member of the Associate Reformed Church of Scotland, he was full of the vigor of Scottish Calvinism, and possessed all the force of character of his race. He was induced to make Central Kentucky his field and ministered to several churches in the neighborhood of Lexington under conditions of great hardship and pecuniary want. His ability won for him a conspicuous place in a singularly polished society, and in addition to his ministerial work he became a Professor in the University, then a most flourishing institution. Late in the second decade of the century the bitter conflict with the last ebbing tide of the deism of the eighteenth century and the atheism of the French Revolutionary influence, brought the University into trouble. An advanced New England Unitarian was installed as President and a fierce contest was carried on in the Legislature and in the Board of Trustees for the management of affairs. The Presbyterians promptly secured a charter and founded Carter College at Danville, and a general desertion of the old institution began. For half a dozen years Professor Bishop fought manfully in the faculty against overwhelming odds the battle of christian education. At length in 1824 came the call to Miami to found a distinctly christian college. He sacrificed much in giving up Lexington. It was a lovely town. Its society was the most polished in the West. Its advance in commerce and manu-

factures had been rapid, and in all the conditions of civilized life it was at the front. But the call to once more occupy a mission station was imperative. Taking his family and a little body of earnest christian students he once more began work as a pioneer to the sister causes of education and christianity.

Altho' the society of Lexington was polished and agreeable there was some social influences the good doctor didn't approve, and so he moved to a suburban farm where Robert H. Bishop, Jr., was born on Aug. 13, 1815.

Although only nine years old at the time of the removal to Ohio the son was at once put in the grammar school—a school which had been in operation for eight years, connected with the University.

It was, indeed, a thoroughly typical frontier town to which they had come, though the time was growing late for such towns in that immediate neighborhood. Hamilton, old Fort Hamilton, was a little more than a dozen miles away, and the main road to Indiana was some four miles north of Oxford. The situation of the town was superb, but the soil in the neighborhood was poor and did not strongly attract the best class of settlers. A part of the land reserved for the college grounds had been hastily cleared. Brick had been made on this cleared ground and a building erected. The ground was covered with stumps, and the building without design or beauty stood

out in bold defiance of its surroundings. Dr. Bishop as minister and pastor to the people, as well as head of the college soon brought order out of chaos. Wise and good men were called to his aid, and the college flourished for sixteen years under his firm but gentle rule.

The minutes of the Faculty which were singularly full and explicit in this early day show that the little boy did good and faithful work. He says of himself: "Almost all the students were older than I, and so it came to pass that I had scarcely any companions in my boyhood. I cannot say that I was a very diligent student, and Ebenezer, an older brother, and I, spent much time in the woods and on the creek hunting and fishing." It was a healthful boy's life. The wise father knew when to make the strong Scotch hand relax, and doubtless he was more than willing that the too forward boy should not be pressed in his studies.

"In 1827," continues his own narrative—"the societies (the College Literary Societies) put up a printing office in the third floor of the main building of the university and printed a paper, the "Literary Focus," of which "Bob" Schenck, afterwards United States Minister to the Court of St. James, was chief editor. I took a fancy to printing, and spent much time in the office to the neglect of my studies, and at length was allowed to quit college and go into the office. While there the printer 'got

drunk' and left, so that I was obliged to run the paper and in my pride put my 'Imprimatur' i.e. my name as printer, on several of the issues printed in this year, 1828."

Soon after, he returned to college and graduated in the class of 1831, a class which was among the more notable classes of the early period. Among his classmates were Freeman G. Carey, president of Farmer's College, Judges Wm. R. Cochran of Hamilton, O., Theophilus L. Dickey afterwards Chief Justice of Illinois and Charles G. Wintersmith of Kentucky. Among his collegemates there were a great number who afterwards won distinction. Besides Gen. Robert C. Schenck who has been already mentioned, there were John W. Caldwell, minister to Bolivia, Ralph P. Lowe, the war governor of Iowa, Charles Anderson, governor of Ohio, and the distinguished ministers, Doctors Wm. M. Thompson, Benjamin W. Chidlaw and Joseph G. Montfort. In the autumn after his graduation he went to South Hanover, Ind., to enter the theological seminary there. This step was taken at the instance of his father without any well-defined purpose as to his future. He was still only a boy just sixteen years old. His own views as to his future were entirely undetermined and it was with the intention of pursuing general studies such as we would now call post-graduate, rather than with the fixed idea of entering the ministry that he became a student in the sem-

inary. He looked back on the instruction of the venerable Dr. Matthews of Hanover, with great veneration and respect and seemed to regard it as of great weight in his future life. His stay, however at the seminary was short, owing to a very severe illness which rendered it impossible for him for quite a while to continue his studies. When he became convalescent he returned to Oxford and again entered the printing office which he purchased in 1835. This office had a quasi connection with the university and in a certain sense was recognized as a part of it though there was no actual business connection. During the next three years quite a number of books were published for the purpose of carrying out the views of President Bishop with reference to the needs of the university and its neighborhood. Volumes of addresses, reprints of theological works and other publications of a similar nature seem to have been the staple of its publication department. As the west expanded and the connections with the east began to be more intimate, the western printing houses generally abandoned their publication departments and this printing office became merely a local printing house. So in 1838, young Bishop readily accepted a position as assistant in the Grammar School connected with the university, although the salary was exceedingly small. He married in the following year and in 1840 became head master of the Grammar School

upon a salary which for the first and only time in the history of the institution was made equal to that of a full professor in the collegiate department. As a teacher in the Grammar School his work from the first gave eminent satisfaction and his teaching throughout his life was colored by his early experience in this department. He possessed the untiring perseverance which is necessary for a successful teacher of the elements, especially of language. His drill was always thorough, far reaching and untiring, and it was no doubt due to the fourteen years of experience as a preparatory teacher that the characteristics of his university teaching were so markedly those of the untiring master of drill. Nor did he apparently ever go to an extreme in this direction. The circumstances under which the average student from the beginning to the present time has been prepared for Miami University has made drill absolutely essential to successful teaching to a much later period in the course than would be demanded in eastern institutions.

In 1841 an unfortunate complication arose which led to the far more unfortunate termination of the presidency of his father. He however remained as master of the Grammar School through the succeeding administration of Drs. Junkin and McMaster and three years of that of Dr. Anderson, when in 1852 he was chosen professor of Latin which

he somewhat reluctantly accepted. About this time he was also chosen as the secretary of the Board of Trustees and soon after became superintendent of the grounds and buildings. He was already for some years secretary of the Society of the Alumni. Thus there were gathered into his hands various lines which rendered his influence very great. His entire devotion to the university and to its interests became the most conspicuous, indeed the controlling influence in his life. Till the suspension in 1873 he retained all of these positions, and almost every department of the university showed more or less the mark of his solicitude and affection. The Alumni, for the rest of his life, held their annual meeting at his home, and, gathered around the great walnut tree on his lawn, annually concluded their meetings by the singing of "Auld lang syne." As the years passed he seemed to take less interest in anything outside of the Latin language and literature and the affairs of the university. For a great number of years he was never outside of the Township—scarcely a dozen times outside the corporation limits. He did not lack for society. Every alumnus or former student found his house their home. He followed them with unflagging interest and kept a faithful record of their careers. Their wanderings were his wanderings; their interests were his interests; their triumphs were his triumphs; and all were faithfully recorded in the re-

markably complete records which he kept as Secretary of the Alumni Association. The closing of the doors of the university in 1873 was indirectly due to the war of the Rebellion. The call for troops first emptied the halls of students and depleted the faculty. Then the effect upon the money market and the subsequent commercial complications reduced the purchasing value of the endowment of the university below the possibility of carrying on the work. The closing of the doors was the great grief of his life, yet he remained, retaining the offices of secretary to the trustees and the Alumni and of superintendent of the grounds and buildings and ever watched for the day when the university should renew its youth. That happy day came in part in 1885, when a partial re-opening took place and he was again installed in his old professorship; and fully again in 1888, when a complete faculty was once more constituted. But before that day his failing health rendered him incapable of full performance of class-room duty, and in 1887 he was appointed Emeritus professor. Stroke after stroke of paralysis rapidly destroyed his already shattered health, and on the 5th of July, 1890, he fell peacefully asleep.

The college which he had loved so dearly in life did not forget him in death. A memorial service was held in memory of him on Tuesday, June the 16th, 1891, being a part of the exercises of commencement week. On

that occasion addresses were made by a number of his old students and the president of the college and a number of letters were sent by others who were unable to be present. Quotations from one or two letters will perhaps throw light upon his character as a man and as a teacher. Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, wrote as follows:

"It would be to me a source of great pleasure to join in the ceremonies on this occasion. To no one am I more indebted for any taste I may have for letters or the command of my intellectual resources than to this good and to me very great man. He served a long and useful life, exciting the ambitious efforts of those committed to his care, and I believe as much as any American teacher, held through life the affection and admiration of those he first led into the paths of usefulness.

I mention him without his titles, for though he was doctor of laws and professor of the University, he was to me, and always will remain in my memory, designated only by his plain name of 'Bob Bishop.'"

Rev. George H. Fullerton, D. D., of Springfield, O., wrote as follows:

"I was deeply impressed by him both as a teacher and a man. He at first seemed to me to be severe, and if he had worn a toga would have personified my boy's ideal of the old Roman. That towering form, bent over by reason of the weight of brain rather than of years; that keen eye,

looking through you instead of at you, and magnified in its power of impression as well as of vision by the aid of glasses; that stride across the campus, becoming colossal if the recitation bell had rung a moment before the time! Who can forget such characteristics of the man? Our text books were full of pictures of him, and if I could find some of mine (Alas! in what garret or cellar or dust pile do they repose?) I think I could reproduce every feature of the professor down to his long and not exactly classical foot. One scene comes up before me as I write, as if it had occurred but yesterday. I was in the old recitation room and was struggling with some Latin about which I knew nothing, and concerning which I doubted if the author himself knew anything more—was catching at straws as drowning students will always do, and hoping that the next lunge might enable me to touch bottom, when lifting my eyes I saw that the professor had turned his book over on his knee and was contemplating me with one of those anatomical looks which nobody who has been dissected in like way can ever forget. I can feel that look to-day after more than thirty years of experience in life's dissecting room; and I can feel the relief which came to me also when the professor firmly but kindly said, "Sit down sir!" and I dropped out of my misery amidst the titter of my classmates. But I assure you that pleasanter memories predominate as I



write. As I learned the man as well as his lessons, I became warmly attached to him; and it was rarely the case that a student who was not lazy or tricky left college without almost a filial feeling for "Old Bobby" as we called him. I remember that I wrote his biography as far as was then practicable for my Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and when I closed it in a poetical way with the refrain;

"The old oaken Bobby  
The iron bound Bobby  
The moss-covered Bobby  
That loves us so well."

I was greeted by a round of applause from all present, and I do not recall anything I did at college that made me so popular.

After graduation I saw but little of Prof. Bishop, until a year ago last September, when I had the privilege of spending a day with him in his hospitable home. He was then in Beulah land to borrow Bunyan's imagery. He knew that the river of death was not far away, and was contemplating through the mists that lay over it, the towers and mansions of the celestial city. There was no rapture in his experience. The convictions of a lifetime and sturdy adherence to duty in the closet and home and college and church, had provided for him a holy calm which was like a benediction upon all who approached him. The finest thing that Thackery ever wrote, is his description of the death of Col. Newcome. As death called him, the old

soldier is a schoolboy again, and his schoolmaster is calling the roll; but let me quote Thackery's own words; 'At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat a time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face and he lifted up his head a little and quickly said 'Adsum' and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called, and so he whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name and stood in the presence of the Master.'

I have thought of Prof. Bishop as responding in like way in the language he loved so well, 'Adsum, Domine,' when that final roll call of earth's schoolhouse reached his name; and that he stepped humbly but triumphantly into the presence of the Great Teacher, no one can doubt who remembers how diligently while teaching others he himself learned Christ."

Such was the man and the teacher. Within the class-room he was something of an autocrat and in his home circle where he gathered a large family about him, he was not merely the affectionate husband and father but distinctly the head of the family, ruling with gentleness yet firmness. In all things he had the courage of his convictions. Those who differed from him found him inflexible. Those who agreed with him were likely to find him an indefatigable leader. Those

who loved him found in him always a tireless friend and rejoiced in the singular purity and devotedness which went down to the grave under the ever darkening pall of physical

infirmity but in the unfading brightness of complete christian dedication.

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.



## CHICAGO PIONEERS.

HENRY CORWITH.

THERE was a time in the history of Illinois, when the town of Galena was the most prosperous, and perhaps the most populous town in the State, and had the brightest prospect of being one of the great cities of the West.

It was the first settlement in the State in which any industry of consequence of other than an agricultural character was developed, and to this early industrial centre many of the most noted of the Illinois pioneers were attracted.

The site of the noted old town was occupied—prior to its settlement by white men—by the Sac and Fox Indians, and local historians affirm that the aborigines had some knowledge of the value of the extensive lead deposits in the vicinity, and engaged in a crude way in mining prior to 1820.

It is even asserted that the antiquity of mining operations dates back to 1800 or earlier, and that Julian Dubuque was the first white miner.

One thing which is definitely known about the early settlements of this interesting locality is that mining, in a more or less systematic way was begun in 1820 by James Johnson, a Kentuckian; a brother to the famous

Col. R. M. Johnson, the slayer of the noted Indian Chief, Tecumseh.

Three years later Dr. Moses of Cincinnati, Ohio, came to Galena, or as it was then called by the French traders, La Pointe, bringing with him a small colony of miners and traders who effected a permanent settlement. The successful operations which he and his associates carried on in bringing to light the rich deposits of lead ore, soon made the region famous, and brought to it emigrants from all parts of the country. The result was, that what had for many years been known as an Indian trading post, speedily became the scene of wonderful activity as a mining camp.

In 1826 the settlers and miners who had flocked to the country came together and decided that a town should be regularly laid out, on what was then known as Fever or Bean River, now Galena River, at a point six miles above where it flows into the Mississippi River. Lieutenant Thomas, an officer in the employ of the United States Government, laid out the town, and to him it is probably indebted for the name it bears,

although this statement cannot be made with certainty as to its historical accuracy.

As an organized municipality, Galena grew rapidly in importance, and within a few years thereafter it had unquestionably attracted the attention of a greater number of investors, explorers and fortune hunters than any other town in Illinois. Its future was, at that time, full of promise. It appeared to be the natural trade centre of a vast agricultural district, and in addition to this, the mineral wealth by which it was surrounded seemed destined to build up at this point a metropolis of considerable consequence.

It was during this period that there came from New York to Galena, a young man whose financial genius made him for years one of the most prominent factors in the expansion and development of western commerce. It was in 1833 that Henry Corwith, then in New York, was selected by Charles H. Rogers as a suitable person to take charge of a general merchandising establishment, which Mr. Rogers had decided to start in Galena. Mr. Corwith was then a young man, twenty years of age, having been born at Bridgehampton, L. I., June 13th, 1813. He was the son of Gordon Corwith of Welsh descent, and his mother—before her marriage, Susan White—came of one of the pioneer families of New York State.

Henry Corwith had spent his boy-

hood on his father's farm; had received a good common school education, and had been in the employ of Mr. Roger's father in New York something like a year before he was called upon to look after his employer's interest in the West.

Readily accepting the proposition made to him to emigrate to Illinois, he started with a stock of goods which were shipped to Galena by way of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis by the tedious methods of transportation in vogue in those days. When he reached his destination he began business without delay, and the first year worked on a salary. The second year his employer divided with him the profits, and the third year he became a full partner in the business. Being a young man of keen perception and extraordinary sagacity, he was not slow to discover that quite as much could be realized in the way of profits, by becoming a purchaser of the products of the lead mines as could be realized from the sale of merchandise, and he accordingly began purchasing lead and shipping it to New York, where it was disposed of by his partner, Mr. Rogers. "New York Exchange" being then in great demand in the West, it was found convenient to allow the proceeds of sales of lead to accumulate in New York, to be drawn against by western merchants and other traders, through the house of Rogers & Corwith, and this soon led to the establishment by this firm of a regu-

lar banking establishment. As early as 1842, they were known as bankers, and this branch of their business, and their lead shipping business continuing to expand, they gave up merchandising entirely in 1847, and thereafter gave their entire attention to these two interests. In 1853, in company with his brother Nathan, who had joined him at Galena, Mr. Corwith established the Bank of Galena, which became one of the most noted of the pioneer financial institutions of the West. Notwithstanding the "Wild Cat" banking tendencies of that era, Mr. Corwith, as president of this bank, was little inclined to issue paper currency, although authorized to do so under the charter granted to the bank by Act of the Illinois legislature. A limited amount of currency was issued after a time, but each of these paper dollars was always worth a dollar in coin, and not one of them was ever presented for redemption which was not duly honored. Not even during the disastrous financial panic of 1857 did the bank suspend specie payment temporarily, and the venerable cashier of the institution, Mr. C. C. P. Hunt, now living in Chicago, relates with much satisfaction instances in which the holders of notes during that exciting time, expressed their appreciation of the bank's resources, and its fidelity in redeeming all its promises to pay. On one occasion, says Mr. Hunt, a stranger in Galena entered the bank, and presenting a roll

of bills at the cashier's desk, asked what he could get for them. "You can get gold for them" was the cashier's answer. "But how much?" inquired the holder of the notes. "Just the amount of their face value" was the response, which astounded the stranger quite as much as a bank customer would be astounded in these days at being informed that he could not exchange a national bank note for silver dollar. His experience with Illinois State Banks had been of so different a character, that not being familiar with the history and methods of the Bank of Galena, he was surprised when it did not propose to discount its own paper.

Mr. Corwith and his associates continued to operate the bank under State laws until 1865, when it was reorganized under the National Banking Laws and became the National Bank of Galena. When its first charter as a National Bank expired, Mr. Corwith severed his connection with it, but the bank is still doing business as the Galena National Bank.

While engaged in banking he continued his purchases and the shipment of lead, and for many years he and his associates are said to have handled and sent to market three-fourths of the output of the Galena mines. All of the early shipments of lead were by way of the Mississippi River and New Orleans to New York, but at a later date shipments were made largely by way of Chicago.

The lumber interests of Southern

Wisconsin were also indebted largely to Mr. Corwith for their rapid advancement. Although he became the owner of some valuable tracts of pine lands, he did not engage in cutting lumber to any considerable extent, but the lumbermen of this region relied upon him largely for the means necessary to get their products into market and to carry on such operations as they planned from time to time. In this way, and in the marketing of the lead product of the Galena region, Mr. Corwith contributed greatly to its industrial development.

While still living at Galena, he made numerous investments in both St. Louis and Chicago, and for a time hesitated as to which of these cities he should make his permanent home. At the time of the Chicago fire, a considerable number of business buildings of which he had become the owner, were destroyed, and the re-building of these buildings brought him to this city, of which he became a resident in 1873. From the date of his location in Chicago, he did not engage actively in business, giving his attention solely to the management of his large private interests. He died in Chicago in 1888, having accumulated a splendid fortune as a result of his own efforts.

His wife, who before her marriage, was Miss Isabelle Soulard, daughter of James G. Soulard—who belonged to an old St. Louis family but settled in Galena in 1827—is still a resident of

Chicago, as are also his three sons and four daughters.

For nearly fifty years he was a conspicuous figure in the western business world. Not only did he supply those who are engaged in the development of the resources of Northwestern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, with a large proportion of the means necessary for such development, but he was to a great extent the confidential friend and adviser of the men engaged in the conduct of these various enterprises. He belonged to the class of pioneers who comprehended to a large degree, the vast possibilities of "The West." He had abundant faith in its resources, and he therefore counseled wisely those who came to him for advice. A banker, during the formative period of western banking—when the financial affairs of this region were in a condition truly chaotic—he proved himself a financier of great ability, and in later years when enterprises with which he was connected brought him into contact with distinguished eastern financiers, he demonstrated that he was the peer of any in dealing with important monetary problems. A genial gentleman of the old school, a helper always of men who sought to help themselves, Henry Corwith was a man widely known and greatly respected among the pioneers of the Northwest, and his influence in building up the trade and commerce of this section can hardly be over-estimated.



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*Isa Brown*

## IRA BROWN.

ON a beautiful hill overlooking the village of Wheaton, the county seat of Du Page County and a suburb of Chicago, stands one of those country houses which itself expresses the culture, refinement, broad liberality and generous hospitality of its occupants.

It combines, as the perfect place of abode should, the most charming features of country and city. Broad lawns, graveled walks and drives, vines and fruit trees in profusion, leave little to be desired to make the outward beauty of this charming country seat complete.

In this home presides with quiet grace and dignity the daughter of Levi Ballou, one of the earliest as well as one of the best known of the Pioneer settlers of Du Page County, as the wife of Ira Brown, one of the Pioneer business men of Chicago and one of that striking group of the eminently successful self-made men of the West.

In 1833, Ira Brown, Sr., a native of New York State settled in Northwestern Ohio, when that region of what is now fertile farms was an unbroken wilderness.

He was the son of Ephraim Brown who sacrificed his life in the war of

1812, and his mother achieved the distinction of living to the age of one hundred and four years. It was soon after his marriage to Miss Harriet Loughborough, sister of William Loughborough, a noted member of the Rochester, New York, bar, that Mr. Brown settled at Perrysburg, in what is now Wood County, Ohio. Here they resided until the spring of 1835, and it was here that their son Ira, was born in the early part of the same year. Not being satisfied with the original location, the elder Brown arranged, in the spring of that year, to remove his family into what is now Defiance County, Ohio, to a settlement near the present city of Defiance. There were no improved roads in that region of country in those days and it was decided to make the trip from the old to the new home by way of the Maumee River.

All the goods and household effects of the family were accordingly loaded into a large sized "dug out," which was launched on the river, and the intention was to have members of the family embark in the same boat. When everything was in readiness for the start, Mrs. Brown declined to trust herself and child to the treach-

erous looking craft, and bundling up the infant in Indian fashion she set out on foot, traveling the entire distance that way. It was in this primitive fashion that Ira Brown made his entrance into the neighborhood in which he grew up, and which he only left, when he set out for Chicago.

His father purchased a large body of land near Defiance and began farming on an extensive scale, giving his attention in later years largely to the raising of fine stock, fine horses being his special pride and delight. It is an interesting fact that, although he is now eighty eight years of age, and the oldest resident of the county in which he lives, the elder Brown is still actively engaged in carrying on farming operations and is one of the most widely known farmers in the State.

In 1835, what was known as Fort Defiance occupied the site, or at least a portion of the site of the present city of the same name. The country surrounding it was an unbroken forest, in which the howling of wild animals were familiar sounds, and in which Indian hunters were far more numerous than white ones. It was in the wildest and newest portion of a comparatively new state, and the experiences of boys who grew up in this region within the next few years were such as to fit them for pioneer life in almost any western community. The experiences of Ira Brown were not different from those of the average country youth of that

period in Northwestern Ohio. During the summer and winter months of each year he attended school at Defiance until he was old enough to make himself useful on the farm. Dividing his time between farm labor and the school room, he remained at home until he was seventeen years of age, when he reached the conclusion that farming was not altogether to his taste, and he was anxious to see something more of the world before deciding on a permanent occupation. As he was still a mere youth, his idea of getting away from home, did not receive the endorsement of his parents and the differences of opinion between them were so radical that the young man finally concluded to settle the matter for himself. Accordingly when a fortunate circumstance made him the possessor of ten dollars, he quietly gathered together such of his effects as he could carry in a small bundle, and without informing any one of his intentions, set out for Chicago. This was long before the days of railroad communications between Chicago and the Maumee Valley and he spent three days traveling through the forest to reach Coldwater, Michigan, where he boarded a train which brought him to his destination.

Arrived in Chicago he found himself in the largest city he had ever seen up to that time, among strangers, with something less than four dollars in his pocket. He determined to make

the best of the situation and to obtain some sort of employment without delay. Stopping at the American Hotel, one of the well known hotels in those days in Chicago, he began making himself useful in various ways, with the result that by the time his money was exhausted he had secured a position as night clerk in the hotel. His promotion to a more responsible position was rapid. He was connected with this enterprise for five years. At the end of that time he sold out and embarked in mercantile business which he continued for several years, until his realty interests became such as to demand all his time and attention.

It was developed early in his career that he was especially adapted to successful dealing in real estate, and he began making investments in realty as soon as he was able to command any money for that purpose, and his earliest purchases showed good judgment and close calculation. Readily grasping the idea that the largest profits in realty transactions are made through the sub-division and sale of lands, in small parcels to persons who want homes or business locations, he turned his attention to the selection of sites eligible for this purpose, and has adhered to this system of operating to the present time. Naturally a sagacious man, it required comparatively little experience to make him an expert judge of land values and to enable him to look about and take

something like an accurate measurement of the city's prospective growth.

As a consequence of this forecast of the future, he long since began reaching outside of the city limits of Chicago, and devoting his energies largely to the building of quiet, orderly, well laid out suburban villages adapted for homes.

The plan adopted by him has been one which commended itself to the masses of home-seekers belonging to the middle and laboring classes. He was the originator of the monthly payment plan of selling lots, and not only has he disposed of hundreds of city lots and larger parcels of land in this way, but in many instances homes have been built by Mr. Brown and his associates, and sold on the "easy payment" plan to industrious mechanics, tradesmen and laborers, who were thus enabled to become the owners of their own residences. No honest industrious man seeking for a home in good earnest, ever appealed to Mr. Brown to be given an opportunity to acquire one, without meeting a generous response. In hundreds of cases little more has been required from such purchasers, to begin with, than evidence of their good intentions, and the man who could save five dollars a month out of his salary or wages was put in the way of acquiring a homestead. In this way Ira Brown has perhaps supplied a greater number of people with homes than any man now living in Chicago, and he has certainly contributed to the building up of a

larger number of Chicago's suburbs than any other citizen of the city. In this respect his record has been a remarkable one, the public records of Cook County showing that through his various subdivisions of large bodies of land, he has added nearly fifteen thousand lots to the city of Chicago and its suburbs. Nor does this represent the total of his operations. In 1874, while spending the winter in California he became largely interested in San Diego lands, which he subdivided and sold ten years later.

While his work in and about Chicago has been alike beneficial to the community at large and to those who were aided to become property owners through his enterprise, he has been practically philanthropic in the sense that in helping others he has helped himself, and the profits he has realized from operations in this fruitful field represent a handsome fortune of his own building. He is also interested in banking as a large stockholder and member of the Board of Directors of the Security Loan and Savings Bank of Chicago and in other important enterprises.

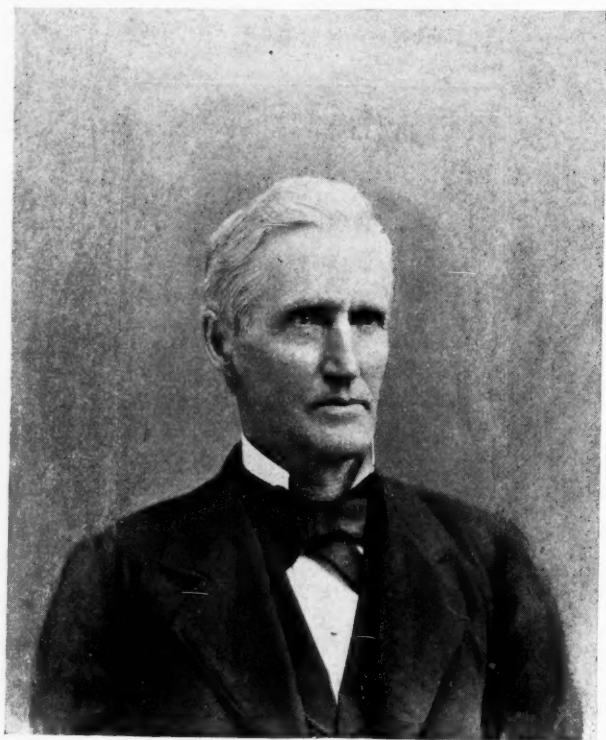
Believing that good fortune imposes obligations upon its possessors, Mr. Brown has been a liberal sharer of his wealth with educational, charitable and religious institutions and enterprises. A member of the Methodist Church, he has been a liberal donor to the Northwestern University at Evanston, and it was largely through his generosity that

the Ada Street Church of this denomination was built in Chicago. As a member of the Building Committee in this instance, he carried the church obligations until such time as the congregation found it convenient to liquidate the indebtedness. In the work of inaugurating the famous Desplaines Camp meeting, at which thousands of western Methodists gather annually, he was a prime mover and in many ways has he given substantial assistance to the church with which he has been identified since early manhood and with which he still retains his connection. While he has always been much attached to this denomination he has at the same time been broad-minded and liberal in his religious views. This is evidenced by the fact that when Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas, one of Chicago's most illustrious preachers, was driven from the Methodist Church by the heretic hunters, Mr. Brown was one of the first to come to his assistance, and to set on foot a movement which has kept him in the ministry and built up one of the largest independent church congregations in the city.

In politics Mr. Brown has been a Republican since he cast his first vote for John C. Fremont for President, but he has been active only to the extent of seeking, where opportunity offered, to promote the interests of his party, and to secure good local government for the city in which he has been so largely interested.







*Alonzo Pelton*

ALONZO PELTON.

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One of the pioneer merchants of the west passed away recently when Alonzo Pelton died at his home in Chicago. Although he was well known in the city which had been his home for a number of years, Mr. Pelton's pioneer life did not begin in Chicago, but in the town of Prairie du Chien in the neighboring State of Wisconsin.

He was a native of Hampden county Massachusetts, having been born in the town of Chester, March 26th, 1816. His family was one which became identified with the history of New England during the Colonial era, and his grandfather Ethamer Pelton, was one of the patriots who contributed his share toward establishing the independence of the United States as a soldier in the Revolutionary struggle. His father Ezra Pelton, and his mother, before her marriage Chloe Wright, were both natives of Massachusetts.

The family of Ezra Pelton was one of a fashion long out of date, as it consisted of thirteen children, of whom Alonzo was the youngest but one. He was brought up on the farm owned by his father, trained to habits of industry, and given a common

school education. Being one of the younger children he became in his young manhood the chief support and dependence of his parents in their old age, and it was not until after the death of his father that he felt at liberty to leave the old homestead and cast his fortunes with the large number of enterprising young New Englanders who were at that time seeking homes in the west.

Two brothers older than himself preceded him to Wisconsin and located at Prairie du Chien, where they engaged in merchandising. After remaining with and caring for his father in his declining years, Alonzo came west about 1840 and joined his brothers in Wisconsin.

The brothers had built up an extensive business for those days at Prairie du Chien, and upon his arrival there he entered their employ as a clerk. After serving his apprenticeship as a clerk he became a partner in the same establishment, and continued his connection until 1867, when he removed to Freeport, Illinois. He there established himself in business, entering into partnership with E. C. Dwight his nephew, under the firm of E. C. Dwight & Co. This

firm became one of the most widely known and successful in the west, and for many years did a prosperous business in jewelry and musical instruments, extending its trade over a wide area of territory. Mr. Dwight retired from the firm in 1869, on account of ill health and removed to Minnesota where he died. Mr. Pelton then became the head of the firm, with a former employe as his principal partner. Early in the "Seventies" the business was removed to Chicago, where it continued to expand until the admission of a third partner into the firm was followed by disaster. The success of the enterprise, which had been built up largely under his management, was in a great measure due to the conservatism and careful methods of Mr. Pelton, and a change in the long established system of doing business was followed by serious consequences. The result was that Mr. Pelton was a heavy loser through the failure of his firm, and although he continued in business for several years afterward, he succeeded in recovering but a small portion of the fortune which he had accumulated earlier in life.

During his long career as a merchant and a man of affairs, both in Wisconsin and Illinois, he was much esteemed by those who were brought into contact with him in every day life. Under all circumstances he was the same upright, honorable and conscientious man, commanding the fullest confidence of his associates and

of the general public. Kindly, courteous and sympathetic, he was deeply loved by those who knew him as a member of social and domestic circles, and particularly by those who were brought into intimate relations with him in church and charitable work.

In his young manhood, while attending a Methodist "Class meeting," of the character for which Methodist churches were noted fifty years ago, he was so deeply impressed by what he saw and heard, that he became a convert to Methodism and united with the church at Middlefield Massachusetts, which was but a short distance from the home of his parents. To the obligations which he took upon himself when a boy he adhered faithfully through all the years of his later life, and he was always a firm believer in the christian religion and a warm hearted, earnest, ardent supporter of the church of his choice.

Always a devout man, during the later years of his life he gave much of his time to religious reading and study, and also became deeply interested in advancing the cause of temperance and sobriety. With much reluctance he finally severed his political connections with the Republican party with which he had been identified since "anti-slavery" days, and became an advocate of prohibiting the traffic in intoxicants, and a member of the prohibition party. Believing that through this agency and by this means alone could the

evils of the liquor traffic be successfully dealt with, he championed the doctrines of the prohibition party warmly and aided as far as lay in his power to advance its principles.

In 1845 Mr. Pelton was married to Miss Emeline A. Tainter, a daughter of Mr. Ezekeil W. Tainter, one of the early settlers of Wisconsin and still living in Chicago. Mrs. Pelton and four children are the surviving mem-

bers of Mr. Pelton's family.

At the time of his death, which occurred at his home in Chicago Sept. 21, 1891, Mr. Pelton was one of the pioneers of Methodism in the west. For more than fifty years he had been a member of the church and for more than forty years he had served the church as a class leader and in other official capacities.



THE PATROONS.

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ONE of the most singular things connected with the settlement of New Netherland was the introduction of the Patroon system of colonization. This system was authorized by the States-General of Holland and they provided that any member of the Dutch East India Company who might establish in any part of New Netherland, within four years after notice of his intention a colony of fifty persons upward of fifteen years of age, was to be entitled by the name of Patroon, to a grant of territory so occupied, sixteen miles in extent along the sea-shore or the banks of some navigable river, or eight miles where both banks were occupied with an indefinite extend inland.

The island of Manhattan and the fur trade with the Indians were expressly reserved to the company; and upon all trade carried on by the patroons an acknowledgement of five per cent was to be paid.

These patroons were to extinguish the Indian title and were to settle their lands with tenants, farmers having indented servants the same as those of Virginia, but the feudal privileges reserved to the Patroons some traces of which still exist, pre-

sent a marked difference between this Dutch scheme of settlement and the free tenure of lands adopted in Virginia. In accordance with the colonial system of all European nations, emigration was to some extent encouraged, but the colonists were forbidden to make any woollen, linen or cotton cloth, or weave any other stuffs on pain of being banished "as perjurers."

Notwithstanding these restrictions a boom in real estate soon broke out and we find that one Godyn and Bloemmaert employed agents to purchase from the Indians a tract extending from Cape Henlopen, thirty-two miles up the west shore of South or Delaware Bay, and not long after the same proprietors made a purchase sixteen miles square on the opposite shore including Cape May.

To these purchases they gave the name of Zwanendale or Swansdale.

Penn, one of the Directors of the West India Company, bought up the Indian title to the district named Hoboken, to which Staten Island and other neighboring tracts were added and this whole region was named Pavonia.

Van Rensselaers' agents purchased



lands above and below Fort Orange, twenty-four miles long by forty-eight broad, embracing all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer with a part of Columbia, which was called Rensselaerswyck.

This colony or kingdom afterwards cut a large figure in the history of New York, but it would take a volume to tell it.

A sort of independent government was established which was vested in two commissaries, one of whom acted as president, and two counselors, assisted by a secretary, Schout Fiscal and marshal. The commissaries and counselors composed a court for the trial of all cases, civil and criminal, from which however, an appeal lay to the director and council at Fort Amsterdam.

The code of Rensselaerswyck, as of the rest of the Province, was the Roman-Dutch law, as administered in Holland. Fort Orange was not included in the patroonship, but remained under the exclusive control of the West India Company and their director at Fort Amsterdam.

The population consisted of farmers who had emigrated at their own expense, other farmers sent out by the Patroon to establish and cultivate boundaries on shares or rent, and farm servants indented for a term of years.

The Patroon, in the beginning, bore the expense of preparing the land for occupancy. He set off farms, erected farm buildings, stocked them with

tools and cattle and so brought the farmer to his work, unhampered by want of capital.

In return for these outlays the Civil Code gave the Patroon many of the rights, incident to lordship under feudal system. He was not only entitled to the rent fixed upon, but also to a portion of the increase of the stock and of the produce of the farm.

Even to the remainder he had pre-emptive right, and the farmer was not at liberty to sell any of his produce elsewhere until it had been refused by the Patroon.

He required each colonist to grind all grain at his mill, to obtain license from him to fish or hunt within the domain, and as "Lord of the Manor" he was the legal heir of all who died intestate within the colony. Serious difficulties commenced between the settlers and the Patroons at the very beginning, and so distasteful were the restrictions, that the settlements did not increase rapidly. The basis of the whole system it will be observed was monopoly in land and monopoly in government, and such a system could never thrive anywhere in this country.

The Patroons undertook to evade the law of feudal tenures and primogeniture, which were at an early period abolished by contriving a deed by which the grantees agreed to pay rents and dues.

This tenure proved to be very burdensome and odious, and about the

year 1839 associations began to be formed for the purpose of devising a scheme of relief from the burdens.

This movement was soon known as anti-rentism and soon grew into enormous proportions.

In 1841-2 Governor Seward recommended arbitration, but nothing was accomplished. Great insubordination was manifested in Delaware, Rensselaer and Schoharie counties, which led to bloodshed, and finally the matter was taken into politics and in 1842 one-eighth of the Legislature who favored anti-renters was elected, and in 1846 a clause was inserted in the Constitution by the Constitutional Convention, abolishing all feudal tenures and incidents, and forbidding the leasing of agricultural lands for a longer term than twelve years. In Rensselaer County, and in Delaware County several heinous outrages were committed, and the perpetrators being discovered they were tried and sent to States Prison.

Silas Wright, who had been elected Governor prior to 1846, was a candidate for re-election at the November election of that year, but having incurred the displeasure of the anti-renters was defeated by ten thousand majority by John Young, the anti-rent candidate, who released all offenders of the law who were in prison. The public feeling became so strong against the Patroons that they could not collect rents or do anything with their possessions, and they had to sell out their interests,

It was in the prosecution of some of these offenders against the law that John Van Buren, who was at the time Attorney General, greatly distinguished himself as a lawyer and advocate. Away from the vicinity of the Patroons, and all along the Hudson, there grew up Dutch Village Communities with all of the elements of self-government, and in marked contrast with the religious intolerance of the New England colonists.

The broad christian liberality of the Dutch and Huguenots who laid the foundations of New York State is worth remembering, and the origin and growth of this liberty-loving sentiment of the Dutch people can be traced back to the earliest ages of North European history, long before the days of William of Orange and long before the people residing between the Rhine and the Meuse, the Schelde and the Ocean, closed in a death-like grapple with the fanatics and butchers of Spain. Indeed as a recent historian says :

"From the banks of the Rhine, the germs of free local institutions, borne on the tide of western emigration, found here along the Hudson a more fruitful soil than New England afforded, for the growth of those forms of municipal, state and national government, which have made the United States the leading Republic among the nations."

ELLIOTT ANTHONY.

## THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK.

## II.

With the adjournment of the meeting of January 13, 1886, the Ohio Society of New York may be said to have found a being, and to have entered upon its career of usefulness and success.

The next meeting of the new society was held at the Windsor Hotel on the first of the February succeeding. The committee charged with the preparation of a constitution had carried their labors along the line of policy suggested by the president, and when their instrument was presented it was adopted without a dissenting voice. Its provisions were brief and to the point. It was decreed that the name should be the Ohio Society of New York, and its object to "cultivate social intercourse among its members, and to promote their best interests." There should be three classes of members: Active, Non-resident, and Honorary. Any person over eighteen years of age, of good moral character, and a resident of New York City or vicinity, and who was a native or the descendent of a native of the State of Ohio, or who had at any time been a resident of Ohio for a period of seven years, was eligible to membership, upon the ac-

tive list. The sections covering the other classes of members, provided that: "Any person of like age and character residing in Ohio, (or born therein, and residing elsewhere than in New York City or its vicinity,) may, in like manner, become a non-resident member. Honorary membership may be conferred by a unanimous vote of the Governing Committee upon persons deserving that distinction; provided, however, that not more than five such memberships shall be conferred during any one year, after the first year. Non-resident and honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, except that they shall not vote or hold office." It was further provided that the officers should consist of a president, five vice-presidents, a secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a governing committee composed of nine members and these officers. The annual meeting of the society should be held on the 29th of each November, except when that date fell upon the Sabbath, when it would be held upon the day after. An initiation fee of ten dollars was to be paid by each active member, with fifteen dollars annual dues. Each non-resi-

dent member was to pay ten dollars initiation and ten dollars annual dues. Regular meetings were to be held on the second Monday of each month; the duties of the officers and committees were defined; rules were established for the admission of new members; and such other regulations adopted as to ensure harmony, and make the society thoroughly effective in carrying out the purposes for which it was inaugurated.

On the 26th of February a special meeting was held at the Gilsey House,\* where steps were taken looking to the securing of permanent quarters—the society had now a name and a being, and it was time to make sure of a home. The rooms now occupied at No. 236 Fifth Avenue were ordered leased, and arrangements set on foot to fit them for occupancy.

At a later meeting, held on March 8th, a Committee on History and Art was appointed as follows: J. Q. Howard, chairman, Cyrus Butler, William Henry Smith, C. H. Applegate, Andrew J. Rickoff, J. Q. A. Ward, J. H. Beard. A Committee on Entertainment was also constituted, and composed of the following gentlemen: General Thomas Ewing,

chairman, Wallace C. Andrew, Richard C. Kimball, William L. Strong, Homer Lee, W. L. Brown, Bernard Peters, Carson Lake and Henry L. Burnett.

The April meeting was held at the Murray Hill Hotel on the 6th. The chief question now at issue was one of history rather than organization, and is thus touched upon by Secretary Homer Lee, in his first annual report: "At about this time a discussion took place as to the date upon which Ohio was admitted as a state to the Federal Union, with the view of celebrating the anniversary with a banquet. It was developed that there are no less than seven different dates given by historians for the auspicious event, as follows:

"April 28, 1802.

"April 30, 1802.

"June 30, 1802.

"Nov. 29, 1802.

"Feb. 19, 1803.

"March 1, 1803.

"March 3, 1803."

"A satisfactory date," adds the secretary, "could not be determined upon." Under these circumstances the arbitrary date of May 7th was fixed for the banquet.

We will reserve mention of that noted first social reunion, until the general work of the Society for the first year of its existence is briefly presented. The meetings of June and July were devoted to routine matters, and the August gathering was omitted because of the absence of many

\*Before the Society had a home of its own, its various meetings were held in hotels, generously tendered by the proprietors for that purpose. Those to which the Society found itself under obligation were: The Sturtevant, the Windsor, the Grand Central, the Arno, the Fifth Avenue and the Gilsey.

members from the city. The main features of the work during this summer season are thus presented in Mr. Lee's first report:

"At the June meeting, the first of a series of papers was read by Mr. J. Q. Howard, subject, 'An Outline of Ohio History.' At the September meeting, Mr. J. Q. Mitchell favored the Society in like manner, the subject being 'The Second Settlement at Marietta.' At the October meeting, Mr. James Beard delivered an extemporaneous address on Hiram Powers, the sculptor, replete with interesting reminiscences. At the November meeting, Judge Warren Higley read a paper on 'The Second Settlement of Ohio at Cincinnati.'

"The Society has been called upon to mourn the loss of two of its members by death: Mr. William Hunter, formerly of Mansfield, Ohio, and for upwards of twenty years connected with the Western Union Telegraph Company, and Mr. J. Monroe Brown, banker, formerly of Licking County, Ohio, for many years a prominent member of the New York Stock Exchange. Both these gentlemen were persons of more than ordinary business ability, attractive social qualities and high personal character.

"The Society has nearly three hundred members on its roll.

"Thus ends the first year of the Pioneer state Society of the Metropolis."

The outside work only of the Society for its first year has been given

in the above, and more than this is needed to show the earnestness with which the self-exiled Buckeyes took hold of their labor of love, and what they really accomplished in the first ten months of their being. The first annual report of the Governing Committee, under date of November 29, 1886, so fully supplies the needed links of detail that we are tempted to quote quite fully. The committee says:

"The members of the Governing Committee were elected by the Society at its first meeting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on the 13th day of January, 1886. Said members were called together and met at the office of Henry L. Burnett, 67 Wall street, on the sixteenth day of January 1886, when Henry L. Burnett was elected Chairman and Carson Lake Secretary. The Committee held its first meeting January 16th and its last on November 17th, and during this eleven months held twenty meetings. The interest of the majority of the members of the Committee in the welfare of the Society, and an earnest desire to discharge with faithfulness and efficiency the duties which had been imposed upon them by the Society, was at all times manifest.

In the performance of their duties the Committee proceeded to act first upon the admission of members, and prepared and adopted forms for application of membership.

The Constitution provides that

"Any person over eighteen years of age, of good moral character, and a resident of the city of New York or vicinity, \* \* \* may be admitted as an active member."

In order to give an interpretation to, and define the expression "or vicinity," the Committee at its meeting on February 12th, 1886, passed a resolution to the effect that persons otherwise eligible, residing within a radius of fifty miles of the City Hall should be eligible to active or resident membership.

Our present membership is as follows, viz :

Resident members,	229
Non-resident members,	62
—	—
Total,	291

The next step taken by the Committee in managing the affairs of the Society, was to secure attractive and commodious permanent rooms or headquarters for the Society. After careful consideration of the subject and personal examination of rooms in various localities by several members of the Committee, the present rooms at 236 Fifth Avenue were unanimously selected. On the 26th of May, a card was issued to the members, notifying them that the rooms were then substantially in order and ready for the use of members.

The Committee, by way of suggestion or recommendation beg to say that in order to maintain the requisite membership, a sustained interest

in the monthly meetings and in the general purposes and objects of the Society must be manifested by the present members. First: There ought to be a greater attendance, a more frequent dropping in of the members to the rooms of the Society, afternoons and evenings. It might be well for the Society or Governing Committee to designate some special evening each week as Ohio Society night, when it shall be understood that as many of the members as can possibly do so will visit the rooms.

No more attractive feature could possibly be added to the society rooms than to fill them comfortably with the cultivated, able and attractive men who constitute its membership. "All place a temple, all season summer" where such men do congregate.

Then again, while the papers read at our monthly meetings are most interesting and instructive; are filled and weighty with great truths and historic facts, yet may they not be just a little depressing, from their very ponderosity? Might it not be well to lighten these occasions by a little music—a sprightly duet or a stirring glee song? I doubt not we have the talent. Our committee on history, art and literature might brighten the sombre tints of the evening by a choice recitation or reading. Why can we not have the presence of ladies at our monthly meetings or semi-monthly meetings?







Wager Jwayne

Their presence would certainly bring into our rooms Matthew Arnold's vision of "Sweetness and Light."

HENRY L. BURNETT.

*Chairman Governing Committee..*

The Society even at this early period had quite an extensive list of daily and weekly Ohio newspapers on their files. These were in part due to the generosity and interest of their friends at home, as the following resolution adopted by the Governing Committee will show.

"Whereas, a number of Editors in the State of Ohio have very kindly and generously furnished their papers to be placed on file in the rooms of this Society for the use of its members, be it therefore

*Resolved:* That in recognition of their courtesy and generosity, the Secretary of this Committee be instructed to notify the gentlemen thus contributing their papers, that all the privileges of non-resident membership in this Society are hereby extended to them, and that copies of all notices of meetings and publications of the Society in future be sent to their addresses."

A number of books, including several County Histories, were presented to the Society during this first year by the Hon. John Sherman, Gov. Robinson, Col. Strong and others.

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GEN. WAGER SWAYNE, THE SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

There have, as yet, been but two presidents of the Ohio Society of New York, the distinguished jurist and soldier whose career has been already reviewed, and the equally distinguished soldier and jurist whose record is briefly touched upon in that which follows; and if General Swayne's strength continues equal to the many charges upon it, and if he does not refuse *in toto*, it will probably be a long period before there is a third. He is the ideal presiding officer, and the society feel that each stated meeting will be sure of something worth hearing and re-

membering, if President Swayne is in the chair.

Since 1879 Wager Swayne has been a member of the New York bar. He came here, not because he had outgrown his love for Ohio, but because his widening practice demanded that he should stand in the very centre of affairs. He had been a member of the Ohio bar with honor and success; he had been a soldier who had won his stars by high services and the gift of his blood. He had also shown in a field of labor peculiar to itself, and in which he had to blaze his own way along unbroken roads, that his heart

was with the downtrodden and oppressed, and that, although of Southern blood, his heart was filled with the gentlest compassion for the slave. Add to these facts engaging personal qualities, and one may somewhat understand why General Swayne holds so high a place in the confidence and love of those with whom he comes in contact.

The earliest member of this branch of the Swayne family in America, was Francis Swayne, an English surgeon who sailed from East Hampstead, Berkshire, and made his home in East Marlborough, Pennsylvania, in 1710. Descended from him was that distinguished and high-minded jurist, Noah H. Swayne, who, at the call of Lincoln—at a time when only the ablest and purest could find favor in the hearts of a stricken and God-fearing people—became an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and gave a conspicuous and brilliant service until his retirement in 1881. He had already made his mark as a lawyer and public official in various stations of duty in Ohio.

In 1832, Noah H. Swayne was united in marriage to Sarah Ann Wager, a woman of noble qualities, and one who left a train of quiet blessings all along the pathway of a useful life. Nor was she one who held alone to the theory of good works; she practiced as she taught others. Of Southern birth and receiving slaves by inheritance, she gave them freedom at the time of her marriage and did all

that lay in her power in after life to help the black man, slave or free, to education and self-help. When she found a home with her husband in free-soil Ohio, some of these helpless children of the South followed her, and General Swayne mentions often, with tender reverence, the care she bestowed upon them and the help she gave them. He often, when a mere boy, accompanied her to the Sabbath School, where she employed him in teaching old negro men and women to read that they might read the Bible.

General Swayne was born at his father's home in Columbus, Ohio, November 10, 1834. After the usual preparatory course, he entered Yale, from which he was graduated in 1856, in a class of which Chauncey M. Depew, Judges Brown and Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court, and a number of other now distinguished men were members. He then entered the Law School at Cincinnati, from which he also graduated in 1859. He at once went home to Columbus, and became a partner of his father, under the firm name of N. H. & W. Swayne. His continuance in this chosen labor of life was not of long duration. The civil war came, and the son of a Virginian father and mother laid down his books, and briefs, and offered his services in aid of the principles he had learned at his mother's knee. In July, 1861, he was appointed major of the Forty-third Ohio, a regiment that in company with Garfield's For-

ty-second was stationed at Camp Chase, near Columbus. The first active service was with Pope, in his Missouri campaign in 1861 and 1862. The regiment took part in the capture of New Madrid and Island No. Ten, and was in the battles of Corinth and Iuka. The loss of the colonel, in one of these severe engagements, threw the command upon Major Swayne who was soon promoted to the office of colonel. He fought with his regiment until 1863, in Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama; was with Sherman in his march to the Sea, and upon the march North from Savannah, he lost his right leg by the explosion of a shell. For "gallant and distinguished services," as the official language put it, upon these occasions, Col. Swayne was commissioned Brevet Brigadier General, and later to the full rank of Brigadier. Because of his missing leg he was an invalid until 1865, when at the request of Gen. O. O. Howard, chief of the Freedman's bureau, he was sent by the War Department to Alabama, as assistant commissioner of the bureau for that state—a remarkable experience in view of the scenes of his early life.

Alabama was at that time the very theatre of events, and the poor blacks, in possession of a boon they had no idea how to use, went their way in all directions, knowing only that they were free, but having no knowledge of self-support or self-direction. General Swayne set himself resolutely to

work to make the government parental in its character towards these wards of the people so far as it lay within his power. He gathered large numbers of them upon the various unoccupied plantations, from which many of them were taken by the former owners, who accepted the situation and made equitable arrangements for the labor they had once got for nothing. In many ways impossible to enumerate here, General Swayne showed his zeal for the freedman, and his good judgment in placing them in positions where they might help themselves. Especially was he interested in their education, his early experience having given him peculiar insight into their needs, and the best way by which they might be supplied. By personal effort he secured through Secretary Stanton a special order from Pres. Johnson, the utilization of the confiscated war material for the purpose he had in mind; following the spirit of Holy Writ if not the words, that the spear and the sword should be beaten down to the needs of the husbandman,—for the remnants of an old cannon foundry, and other implements of the past contest were sold, and the proceeds used for the education of the freed slaves. The fact is, that the history of the Freedman's Bureau and the life of General Swayne were almost contemporaneous for the three years of this service. Following a liberal appropriation of Congress for the relief of the ex-slaves came the troubled

period of reconstruction; the General was charged with the administration of Alabama; his policy was not that of President Johnson, and at the crisis of the difference he was relieved in the summer of 1868, the volunteer service being necessarily at an end.

In the summer of 1866 Congress increased the regular army of the United States by the addition of four regiments of infantry, to be known as the "Veteran Reserve Corps," and officered from those who in the volunteer service had been wounded in the line of duty. Generals Daniel E. Sickles, John C. Robinson, Thomas G. Pitcher and Wager Swayne were selected and appointed to the command of these regiments. The last named had not asked, and did not desire the appointment but accepted it at the request of General Howard and his superior officers, as the means of continuing his work in Alabama.

In December, 1868, Gen. Swayne had taken yet another forward step in the journey of life, and was married to Miss Ellen Harris, a daughter of Alfred Harris, a prominent lawyer of Louisville, Kentucky. In the year following he was assigned to duty in the war department, where he remained until June, 1870, when he was retired at his own request. He went to Toledo, Ohio, and after this long and stirring interval again took up the chosen purpose of his life, and once more entered upon the practice of the law. He was among the prominent members of the Ohio bar from

the first, and also took an active part in various public or semi-public enterprises; was interested in a railway from Toledo to Mansfield; and among the great causes of litigation in which he took a professional part, was the adjudication of the question whether the state had the right to tax the National banks out of existence, which he fought through to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was settled forever in the negative.

It was not long before General Swayne was brought to the conclusion that his responsibilities had outgrown his environment. Among his clients were the American Union Telegraph Company of which he was general counsel, the Wabash Railroad Company and other corporations of like character, and duty to them demanded that he should remove to New York. So he came in 1879, and has since been one of the busiest and most successful of the leading members of the New York bar. In May, 1881, he formed a partnership with Hon. John F. Dillon, who for many years had been a United States Circuit Judge in Missouri, and afterwards a professor in the Columbia College Law School. The firm of Dillon & Swayne became general counsel of the Western Union Telegraph Company, of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and of other great commercial and railway interests, besides possessing a large general practice.

General Swayne, in addition to his



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*S. S. Packard*

professional duties, is also engaged in many good works that occupy his spare time and allow him to be of special service to his kind. Mention will come elsewhere of his services to the Ohio Society; he is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society, of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an active Sunday School worker, Commander of the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion etc., etc. His chief ambition, in all these labors, seems to be that good may come to the world because he has lived in it, and no higher ambition could be nurtured in any man than seems to have moved General Swayne in all the years of his manhood, that he might be worthy of his father's fame, and true to his beloved mother's christian example and teachings.

General Swayne has a passionate love for historic research, not so much for argument or to prove preconceived theories, as to show that something more than human power has

guided the ways of the world in all its wonderful progressions; to bring to light truth, especially in connection with the early days of our Republic. He has written some in the lines of general literature, but not much, his life has been too full of active things to leave time for theory or the expression of abstract views. As a presiding officer, whether in the meetings of the Ohio Society, the Loyal Legion, or at their annual banquets he is the ideal chairman—knowing just the one word, or the happy suggestion, or the touch of caution necessary to make all harmonious, and to keep the tide of interest at full flow. Of his personal life nothing need be said; nothing of value can be said, if that which has gone before does not suggest the noblest form of manhood known to the world to-day, the christian gentleman who is one in the world of affairs, but who keeps his soul pure, and his hands clean of any touch of those baser things that defile even though they may not destroy.

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SILAS S. PACKARD; CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNING COMMITTEE OF THE  
OHIO SOCIETY.

CONTINUING this list of men who have been loyal to their old home, by perpetuating its memory in the creation of a great society in the new, we come to one who is not only one of the mainstays of that society, but

who is recognized from one end of the land to the other as an educator who has nobly served his day and generation, and who is yet striving to make the world better by increasing the sum of the world's knowledge.

Silas S. Packard, President of Packard's New York Business College, has been for many years one of the most active and earnest members of the Ohio Society, and wherever a few Ohio men have been gathered together in the Metropolis, for any good word or work, he has been found among them. He has been a resident of this city since 1858, and although that has been long enough to acclimate him in all social and business ways, he has never forgotten his life in Ohio, nor outgrown his boyhood impressions there received, as the readers of these pages learned to their instruction and delight in the issues for February and March, 1891.\*

While Mr. Packard was of New England birth he was taken to Ohio at so early an age as to be practically of Buckeye origin; the more especially as the Ohio of his early days was only a part of Connecticut or Massachusetts set down in the western woods. His family line places him in the sixth generation of descent from Samuel Packard who came from Windham, England, to Hingham, Mass., in the Plymouth colony, in 1638. He was born in Cummington, Mass., April 28, 1826, the fourth son of Chester Packard, whose father, Abel Packard, was one of the earliest settlers of Cummington, having removed there from North Bridgewater,

in 1774, five years before the town was founded. Near the Packard homestead, there now stands a handsome monument, to mark the birth-place of William Cullen Bryant.

The time had come when ambitious and hopeful men were moving in large numbers to the lusty young state just founded west of the Alleghanies, and Chester Packard soon found himself among them. With his five sturdy boys, he made the migration in 1833, traveling the entire distance from Troy, N. Y., by water, taking the Erie Canal from Troy to Buffalo, Lake Erie to Cleveland, and the Portsmouth and Ohio Canal to Newark, Ohio.

Like the great majority of those who went with them, the family were poor, depending upon the mechanical labor of the father, who was a carpenter by trade. They settled in the little town of Fredonia, Licking county, ten miles west of Newark, and six miles north of Granville. The boy Silas had the ordinary advantages of the district school until the age of fifteen, when he went for two terms to the Granville Academy. While at that academy he got a chance to saw and split wood, attend garden and take care of a horse, for his board, and as his tuition amounted to but ten dollars for the two terms, he soon earned that.

In speaking to those who know the earnest and energetic educator of today, it is needless to tell that these years, short as they were, were used

\*"My Recollections of Ohio," Nos. I. and II., by Prof. S. S. Packard, in issues of February and March, 1891, pps. 396 and 564.

to the best possible advantage; and well for him that they were, for they comprised all his school opportunities, beyond those of the common district school. The youth had a natural taste for grammar and mathematics, and was always the best penman in school, having shown an aptitude for writing at a very early age. He was also the "composition boy," and had a great passion for using the longest and most uncommon words to be found in the dictionaries.

This ambitious young man commenced to teach at the age of sixteen, taking first classes in penmanship, after the then fashion of peripatetic writing schools, "boarding round," in the mode of the times. In 1845 he went to Kentucky, and remained there over two years, teaching school and painting portraits. "These portraits" he says, "were painted in oil," and he states this as a fact, because he used to buy the oil himself, boil it, buy the dry paint, grind it on a stone, which he carried about with him; and beyond this, to make his own brushes.

He removed to Cincinnati in 1848, and was employed as a teacher of penmanship in Bartlett's Commercial College, for the space of two years, and in July 1850, removed to Adrian, Mich., where he also taught writing for more than a year, when he again sought a new location—this time in Lockport, New York, which he reached in the autumn of 1851. He taught writing, bookkeeping, and

drawing in the Lockport Union School for nearly two years, removing to Tonawanda, N. Y. in the spring of 1853. Here he established a "country newspaper," the *Niagara River Pilot*, which he conducted with much energy and fair success until the fall of 1856, when he became associated with Bryant & Stratton in the management of their Buffalo College, and entered upon the real work of his life. From Buffalo he went to Chicago, establishing there, in connection with Mr. Stratton, the Bryant & Stratton College. He remained long enough to get it well under way and then came to Albany, starting the college there on the first of January, 1857.

He had all this time been growing in mental stature, experience and a knowledge of the practical things of education, and at the same time gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the great centre where the chief labor of his life was to be performed. In May, 1858, Mr. Packard began his work in New York city, by establishing in connection with Bryant & Stratton, the school now so well known as Packard's Business College, on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. During the years 1859 and 1860, he prepared the Bryant and Stratton series of book-keeping, comprising three separate editions—counting house, high school, and common school. In this venture Mr. Packard seemed to strike at once the high level of successful authorship, as the books then prepared

have held their ground as standard text-books on accounts, and are to-day the most popular and most extensively used throughout the country of any text-books on this subject. In the development and perfecting of plans and material of instruction which has made Packard's Business College a household name in the best families of the leading cities of the United States, he has found work enough for heart and brain.

In the creation, development, and management of this successful college, Mr. Packard seems to have been governed by two leading ideas: first, to meet the real wants of the business community in the matter of well trained clerks, and next to render his institution worthy the name of "college."

Not only is his influence felt in his own country, but much that he has done and is doing has been fitly recognized abroad. The business schools of France, particularly those at Paris and Rouen, under the management of the Chamber of Commerce at Paris were founded on Mr.

Packard's model, and after a careful personal examination of his methods; and the *Bureau Commercial* of the Antwerp School has taken some of its features from Mr. Packard's scheme of "business practice."

But while thus engaged, through many years of active labor, Mr. Packard has not forgotten the duties of citizenship, nor the social debts that one owes to his kind. He has taken an active interest in many good works, and has been one of the moving forces that have made the Ohio Society what it is. He is at present a trustee, and chairman of the governing committee. He is constant in attendance, always prepared to do all that lies in its power to make the occasional gatherings a success. Genial, full of kindness to those about him, ever interested in the welfare of the young, he is a model citizen, a true friend, and in all respects one of those many "Ohio Men" who have made her name honored and loved wherever they go—and where they do not go, in all this broad land of ours.

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HOMER LEE—FIRST SECRETARY OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

One of the most energetic members of that small group of men, to whom the Ohio Society is indebted for its birth, and whose skillful nursing of the infant organization has brought it to its present flourishing condition, was Mr. Homer Lee. As early as

1874 he had the idea of such a society in mind. He was one of several Ohioans, who, in the winter of that year, held a number of meetings in the endeavor to establish the "Buckeye Club"—an organization itself short-lived, but paving the way for the lar-



*Homer Lee!*

The Humer Lee Bank Note Co. New York.



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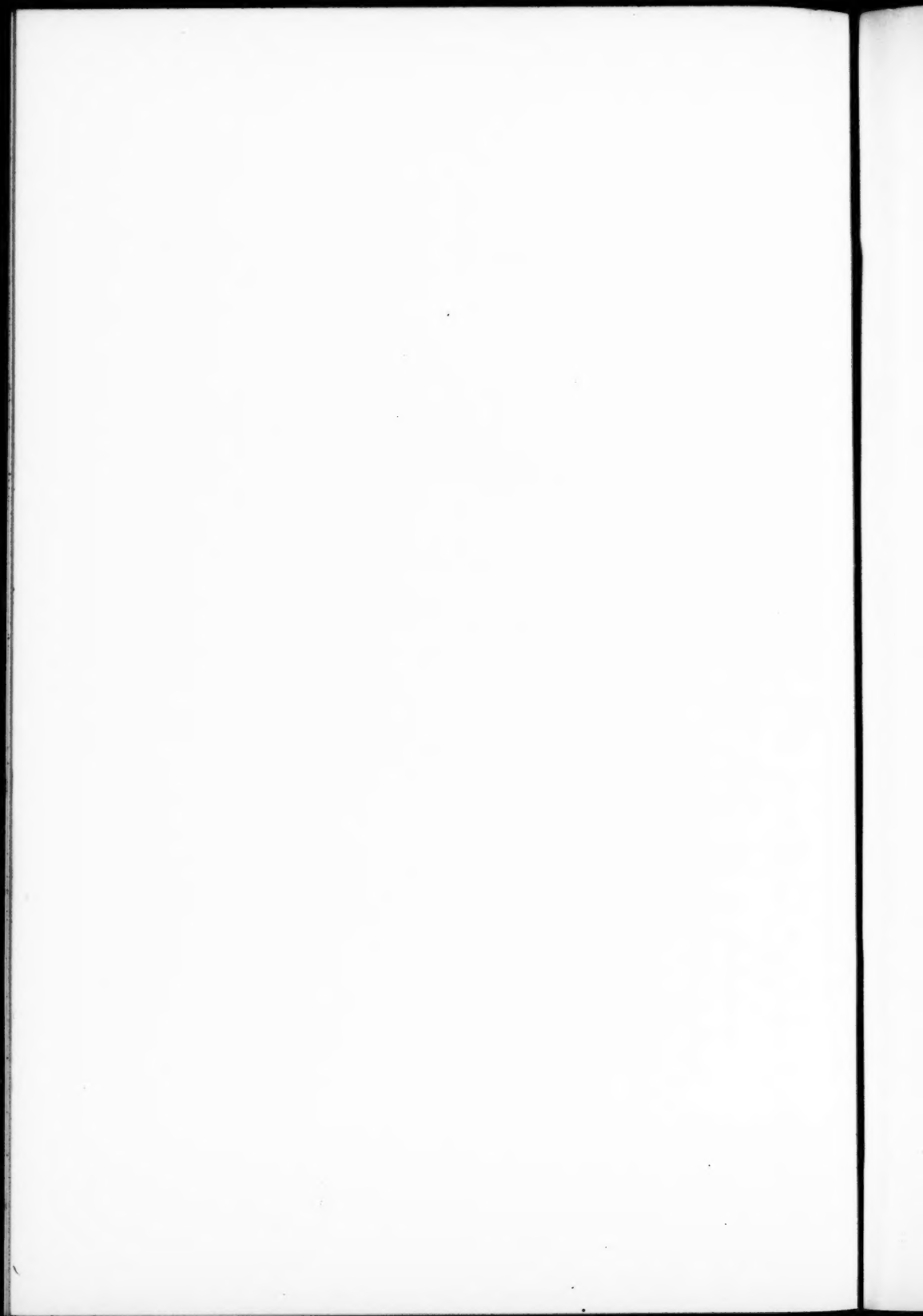
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*Homer Lee!*



ger society, which eleven years later should finally realize the hopes of these projectors. Thus, naturally, we expect to find Mr. Lee performing the active part he took in 1885 in launching the Ohio society. He was the first signer of the preliminary proposal for such an organization, which hangs in the club-rooms, was made a member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, was one of the first to subscribe his name to the new Constitution, one of the Incorporators, and was elected first secretary of the society. The interesting Annual Reports of the organization, since its institution, have been the products of his pen.

Ohio, birth-place of so many presidents and statesmen, who, by their own efforts have raised themselves from the rudest walks in life to positions of highest trust, is not less to be congratulated for the illustrious list of her sons who have made a similar climb along a somewhat different but not less honorable nor less arduous path, to places of honor in the commercial world. No more honorable examples of this kind of achievement can be cited than are afforded in the careers of the Ohio society, and notably that of Mr. Lee. A typical representative of that peculiar product of American civilization, the American business man who stands without a counterpart in other countries, in the rare combination of executive energy, general intelligence and culture, and the eminence, social

and political, to which he frequently attains, Mr. Lee's success has been distinctly the result of his own powers, and his individual skill in directing them.

He is a native of Mansfield, Ohio. His father was a watch-maker and engraver, who taught his trade to his son, and this art learned by young Lee in its elements at his father's work-bench, but developed later by his own studies and inventive faculties, became the foundation of one of the largest business enterprises in the country. Perceiving that Mansfield did not afford an adequate field for his business young Lee early decided to take his chances in some large city. Cincinnati was nearest to his home and he went there and made his first application for work to the American Bank Note Company, but was refused. The manager of that concern little dreamed that the ambitious youth whose services they declined was destined in the course of a few years to build up a great rival establishment, and that he himself would make application to Mr. Lee for work; which he did, however, and was successful.

Finding it difficult to obtain employment at his trade in Cincinnati he went to Toledo where he became proficient in enameling, and determined to do his next prospecting in New York city. He had not been long in the metropolis before he secured a position as an apprentice to an en-

graver, but one most unsatisfactory to a person of his ambitions. His employer, a card engraver on John street, agreed to pay him the magnificent salary of \$100 per annum with the compensation of half of what he could make, by working after six o'clock in the evening.

But his employer failed, and Mr. Lee found himself once more out of employment, with the prospect of returning to Ohio or starting for himself. The desperate nature of this situation was really the crisis of his career since it threw him entirely on his own resources. He had a small capital of about \$300, which he had saved by the most frugal manner of life. With this sum he decided to start a card engraving business of his own, and accordingly rented a modest office on Liberty street, on the spot where the Real Estate Exchange now stands.

He adopted the firm name of "Homer Lee & Co." although it appears that he was both senior and junior partner of this concern, the "Co." having existence only in name. Though well satisfied in his own mind of his thorough mastery of his trade and his ability to demonstrate his fitness to all comers, he yet found himself failing of patronage because of his youth, which is scarcely to be wondered at, when it is considered that at this time he was not a legal voter. He overcame the difficulty, however, by affording desk-room in his office to an elderly gentleman

of sufficiently dignified appearance, whose occupation was to read the papers in the office. This device proved a success. Customers were well content to trust their work to a firm which had such an energetic young manager in its service, and apparently a man of such ripe experience at its head—the solid man of the firm.

For several years the young engraver found it a stern fight, but his conscientious work began to tell, and presently he received an order for bonds from an Ohio Railroad, which netted him \$1000. With the increase of capital and a constantly growing reputation, success became assured, and he was soon enabled to organize the Homer Lee Bank Note Company, which was incorporated in 1881 with a capital of \$50,000, which has since been increased to \$500,000. Before establishing this company Mr. Lee visited all the large establishments in Europe. Among its incorporators are names well known in the Ohio society. Among these are Col. Wm. L. Strong, Senator Calvin S. Brice, Gen. Samuel Thomas, A. D. Juilliard, Stephen B. Elkins and others. Mr. Lee has always been the head and front of the enterprise, and has entire charge of its details and policy. The home of the company is in the "Tribune" Building, Printing House square, its superb plant occupying a large portion of that structure. The growth of this establishment, from its hum-

ble origin in Liberty street to its present extensive clientage, beginning with the patronage of the United States and including that of the government of Mexico and most of the Central and Southern Republics, not to speak of the work done in the shape of bonds and stocks for railroads, banks, state and municipal governments, constitutes one of those phenomenal business developments which not infrequently reward the efforts of American enterprises. The paper money circulation for twenty million of people south of the Isthmus of Panama and throughout the most remote parts of the world bears the imprint of "The Homer Lee Bank Note Company."

The sharp, long contest between this company and the older American Bank Note Company to secure the patronage of the New York Stock Exchange, ending in final victory to the Homer Lee Company, resulted incidentally in raising the standard of such work to so high a degree as practically to revolutionize the business.

During the late revolution in Hayti, an issue of paper money became an urgent necessity to General Hippolite, the insurgent commander, to pay off his troops. Mr. Lee undertook to engrave and print the required amount (\$300,000) and in eleven days a swift vessel was on its way with the issue, reaching its destination just in time to prevent a revolt, and

proving to be the turning point of the revolution.

Mr. Lee's expert knowledge has brought him the honor, from time to time, of rendering valuable services to the governments of this and other countries. The passage by Congress of the law making it a criminal offence to counterfeit foreign bank notes in this country, was brought about largely by his instrumentality. Before the passage of this important measure, the banking institutions of foreign countries found themselves without adequate protection in America, and in many instances with absolutely no protection whatever against counterfeiters who were thus permitted to depreciate foreign currencies with impunity. In the Brockway, Charley Smith-Doyle bond case it was the expert report submitted by Mr. Lee which induced Secretary Folger to render his important decision, which resulted in breaking up the notorious gang of counterfeiters who for twenty years by their skill had baffled every attempt of Federal officers and detectives to bring them to justice.

He was twice offered the position of Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington and was complimented in a similar manner by one of the foreign governments of the east.

Mr. Lee has made several valuable inventions in machinery appertaining to the printing arts, which have been

used for several years at the treasury department at Washington, and by the governments of Germany, Sweden, Russia and others.

In addition to his connection with the Ohio society Mr. Lee is a trustee in St. Johns' Guild, one of New York's charities, an incorporator of the East Side Bank, and an incorporator and director of the United States Saving Bank of New York. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and an Odd Fellow, of which Order his father was Grand Master of the State of Ohio in 1867 and 1868. He is a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Typothetae and other organizations.

It is a very interesting fact that Thomas Lee, his great grandfather, was one of the survivors of the wreck

of the "Faithful Steward,"—a vessel which was lost in Delaware Bay off Cape Henlopen, in September, 1785. Nearly three hundred passengers were drowned, among them were forty-eight members of the Lee family. The disaster caused great excitement at the time from the fact that the captain was charged with having scuttled the ship for the insurance.

To his superior abilities as a man of business he superadds admirable social qualities. In point of years he is yet a young man, with the prospect of an extended and useful career before him, and in this happy circumstance he himself is not more to be congratulated than are his friends and the city of his adoption.

JAMES HARRISON KENNEDY.



## EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

In the October number of a magazine published by the students of the University of the South, Prof. Wm. P. Trent has some very suggestive things to say in connection with the founding of the "Sewanee Historical Society," on a subject which he calls "Our Local History."

What he says, while addressed to that particular Society, and intended to stimulate and direct its special work, as Prof. Trent regards it, yet states principles that apply to all the more local Historical Societies, with such pertinency and such felicitous and cogent illustration, that we feel impelled to make some rather extended extracts.

Naturally the smaller and more distinctly local historical organizations feel that their work is somewhat trivial, and even more uninteresting, as compared with the work and field of the larger State Societies, but if their boundaries are limited, and they are dealing with small things, if looked at properly, these are often not less important, and, set out in the right way, are not less interesting. No single life even is so barren of incident and color that, if one can find the right niche in which it should be exhibited, its history will not prove interesting even to those who are strangers to the person, the place and the historic background.

Says Prof. Trent: "The Sewanee Historical Society should be first and foremost a local Historical Society, and should be true to its name by collecting material for the history of Sewanee itself. That it can eventually do good work in the larger field of Southern history, and even in general history, I firmly believe; but every institution and association has its day of small things, and our day of small things is connected

with the early history of our University, and it is necessary to insist at the start that small things are from the standpoint of the historian nearly always important and nearly always interesting."

It is, of course, difficult for those who have not been trained to historical study to fully appreciate the historical value of the small things, and to them the gathering and properly classifying and analyzing such material seems not only a small but a thankless task. With a little reflection, however, it is not difficult to perceive with great clearness, that these same facts, apparently insignificant and often entirely unrelated, often fall into a hitherto unsuspected sequence, and really form the basis upon which that history is written, which makes living the times, events and persons it portrays.

Prof. Trent, holding rigorously in view the value of this local historical work, admirably illustrates and emphasizes his ideas as follows:

"The University of the South, from its inception, had a cardinal idea and a noble one, and hence it might have a history even if the war had not intervened, and if the three million endowment had been secured. But who knows how soon peace and riches would have reduced the University to the dead condition of Oxford in the 18th century. Sewanee would probably have been pious and orthodox under any circumstances, but orthodoxy and piety will not of themselves make a University. There must be an indefinable spirit added to these—the spirit that is seen in the lover, the enthusiast, the martyr. Sewanee has much of this spirit now; would it have come to her if she had not gone through her day of small things?

But if this spirit had its birth in the day of small things, a careful history of that day will prove interesting and valuable, not only to those who love and believe in Sewanee, but also to students of institutional history the world over."

Prof. Trent then formulates with some detail the methods by which he thinks the Sewanee Historical Society should begin what he considers their particular work, and on what lines the search should be undertaken, and how to make it special and exhaustive, without which it would have little value. When these individual and collective investigations have been garnered and sifted he thinks the history of their University can then be fully and exhaustively written. He urges the Society to begin at once their preparation for their history, and makes an inspiring appeal, which has a value quite independent of the special purpose it is intended to serve. It is itself finely touched by that indefinable spirit of the lover and the enthusiast, to which he refers. We quote as follows:

"Next year you will see the 25th anniversary of the day when Bishop Quintard planted the cross on the spot where St. Luke's Oratory now stands. When I speak of Bishop Quintard as the true founder of Sewanee, I do not mean to depreciate the labors of the noble dead. I am fresh from a careful study of our early records, and I think I can say without prejudice that the real interest of our history begins from that day in 1867, when the newly consecrated Bishop rode to this abandoned mountain-top and planted the cross of his Master. After that day, the records give evidence of a pathetic yet proud faith in the midst of trials, which I almost venture to assert, cannot be surpassed by any chapter of institutional history yet written, or to be written. The story has been told often, but told so badly that many true friends of Sewanee are weary of it; but when it is told by the right man it will touch the world's

heart and will live. Now if the war had not come to add the element of pathos to our history, there would never have been a chance of its touching the world's heart. Bishop Polk's letter, and the address of the southern bishops, and the proceedings of the first trustees, can be read to-day with interest, but touching they are not, and only slightly inspiring. Who can take much real interest for example, in the eight bishops, two hundred presbyters and five thousand people assembled on the top of Cumberland Mountains "to witness the laying of our first corner stone" and to listen to the "eloquent oration" of the Hon. John S. Preston of South Carolina? It is all very far away—very American, and—may I dare say it?—it is somewhat Philistine. Good and enthusiastic people may have been 'convulsed' with tears when Mr. Preston apostrophized Bishop Polk as follows: 'When it pleaseth God, your Master, to stay your radiant and strong right arm from his battle fields on earth, and call you to share his everlasting triumph, the heavens and your grateful country will read on your gravestone, "The Founder of the University of the South,"' but a modern reader of the address is somewhat inclined to speculate upon the size of the engraved capitals and the number of the spectacles employed. But he would be a cold-hearted man who would read a plain narrative of the sacrifices made by Bishop Quintard and our early professors, without feeling his heart touched and his spirit kindled. With poverty and struggle 'sweetness and light' entered in and took up their abode with us. And what is a University without 'sweetness and light,' and how many American Universities can lay claim to the precious pair:"

It seems to be now well assured that the movement which has been set on foot for the purchase of Valley Forge will be successful, and that the property will pass into the hands of a national patriotic association, and be preserved for all time, as a conservator of

patriotic public sentiment. No influence is so powerful in perpetuating what we call the spirit of patriotism, as such visible monuments of a great struggle and a crucial winter, as the ruins of Fort Washington and the long line of earthen entrenchments, which make Valley Forge hallowed ground.

The present proprietor has in his possession the original brief of title to Valley Forge, and the old parchment deeds of different portions of the tract running back into the seventeenth century. The grant, as is well known, was made to William Penn by Charles II., in 1681. In 1701 Penn gave a patent to his daughter Letitia for nearly 8,000 acres for "one beaver skin," corresponding to the legal phrase "one dollar" of the deed of to-day. Letitia married William Aubrey, a London merchant, and they in turn sold to Sir Archibald Grant a large portion of this tract, which included the particular portion upon which Washington camped, and afterwards known as Valley Forge.

The Richmond (Va.) *Times*, in an article on the preservation of our history says:

"There are many indications that the Southern people are steadily growing more alive to the duty of preserving all the records upon which the future historian of the South must rely, in preparing an account of the great achievements which have illuminated its annals, as well as in analyzing those general tendencies which have differentiated it from other parts of the Union.

"That the Virginians themselves are awakening to a fresh interest in the heroic annals of their ancient dominion, even where those annals go back to the distant colonial period, is shown by the fact that the present year has been made memorable by the publication of two works by Virginian authors, which are destined to enjoy a permanent reputation. Alexander Brown's '*Genesis of the United States*,' and Henry's '*Life of Patrick Henry*,' are the two most notable contribu-

tions to general history that have been made for many years, and reflect the very highest honor upon Virginia historical research, as well as upon Virginia literary ability. If such works as these were to appear more often, our Commonwealth would soon be relieved of the reproach that she is indifferent to the preservation of her own history."

We reprint the following paragraph from the Editorial Notes of the last number.

The November number of the Magazine of Western History, which is the first number of the new volume (Vol. XV.), appears under a new name which will more adequately describe its present character.

The title chosen—"THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE—A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AMERICAN HISTORY"—is in keeping with the enlarged scope and purpose of the publication. When it first came into existence, its proposed mission was to gather and preserve the history of that great West which lies beyond the Alleghanies, and while that labor has been pursued with results that have enriched American history, the boundaries have been gradually enlarged, until the whole country has become its field of research, and readers and subscribers are found in every State and Territory. The Magazine has become NATIONAL, and it is believed that the present name will be accepted as more appropriate than the one that has been outgrown. The new name defines, perhaps with sufficient fullness, both scope and purpose, but for the sake of clearness we add that it is proposed to confine our interest exclusively to the field of American History, and whatever directly illustrates it.

## RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

## MAKERS OF AMERICA SERIES:

1. John Winthrop, first Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, by Joseph Hopkins Twichell.

2. Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations, by William Elliot Griffis.

Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

The publication of books in series seems to go on multiplying. We have now the American Statesmen, the American Men of Letters, the American Commonwealths, and this is the Makers of America Series. We must confess it is rather an interesting way of reading; we get "many men of many minds" giving us a group of related subjects, and though there are some interlapings and some necessary repetitions, yet these must come from different pens, and therefore afford us varying views of the same minor topics and events, while the main events or prominent individuals stand forth clearly as the result of specific research by one writer. The two books at the head of this notice present us with accounts of men who were Makers of America, in the best and most helpful sense of that term, yet each how different from the other! The one, Winthrop the Elder, laying slowly but surely and lastingly the foundations for our Republican institutions, long before these were dreamt of. "Building better than they knew," he and those of his age and of his stamp were themselves learning so as to teach, by example and precept, to succeeding ages what self-government was, and the result was finally autonomy for a nation of *United States*. We cannot study such characters too often or too carefully even to-day, for the lesson of self-government needs ever to be learned over again, yet it lies at the root of all other gov-

ernment among free citizens. And while Winthrop and men like him were making ready the people to be a Republic politically, Johnson was doing a work which was to secure us physical safety or existence, while going through that development. He was one of three (and the third and last) who reared, as a bulwark against a national encroachment that would have been fatal to our system, the hosts of the aborigines whose national destinies were otherwise fulfilled, and who were passing away from the face of our territory. These three men were Van Corlaer, Peter Schuyler and Sir William Johnson. They first raised up the barrier of Indian loyalty and friendship between France in Canada and England (*then* Holland; but "what's in a name," when "the rose," the essence of the nationality, was the same?) in the Provinces; the second held it firm and high and strong, in spite of King William's and Queen Anne's wars, and he handed over the good work to Sir William Johnson, whose skill and tact and honesty and courage, wielded this difficult but effective weapon against the French, so that even the "French and Indian War" could not shatter it. Then the times of the Republic were ripe, and such work was no longer needed.

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"THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND; OR THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATIONS TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY." By John Fiske. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1891. Boston and New York.

At a large meeting of the representatives of the best element of New England descendants in a Western city, a prominent divine, describing a recent visit to Leyden, declared that, as he stood before the site of Robinson's house, he involuntarily exclaimed: "Here

was the cradle of American nationality." In the book before us it is made clear why this exclamation was the utterance of a profound truth. When we turn to any of Professor Fiske's writings we are apt to look for deep searchings into quite obvious principles and well-known events or circumstances, until we are conducted to underlying principles and useful lessons, which we had never dreamed they contained. So here we find the old motto "no taxation without representation," which we had thought sufficiently honored as being the battle cry of our Revolution in its political and military struggle, raised to one of the three great "nation-making" forces in the evolution of human history. "Nation-making," he starts out with asserting, "is the real history of mankind. Battles and coronations, poems and inventions, immigrations and martyrdoms, acquire new meanings and awaken new emotions as we begin to discern their bearings upon the solemn work of ages that is slowly winning for humanity a richer and more perfect life." The author mentions three methods of "nation making." 1. The Oriental, or Barbaric, the principle of which is "conquest without incorporation." The Assyrian and Persian conquerors subjected nation after nation, but held them as slaves, never as equals of the conquering race. 2. The Roman, the central idea of which was "conquest with incorporation, but without representation." This vast empire slowly grew and was immensely strong, but fell to pieces from its own weight because not welded together. The method of its growth had made it brittle. 3. The English idea of "nation making." This contained "the principle of representation." Therefore war was unnecessary to it, as Scotland and England became one nation without it.

The first chapter of the book is devoted to a comparison between the Roman and the English ideas, and shows that the latter was bound to dominate the world when the other one, (and the Oriental before it), had outlived

its usefulness. There was danger of its extinguishment in England when the Puritans under Winthrop sailed for Massachusetts. "To keep the sacred flame of liberty alive required such a rare and wonderful concurrence of conditions that had our forefathers then succumbed in the strife, it is hard to imagine how or where the failure could have been repaired." By coming to America and "making" a nation on the principle stated, the flame *was* kept alive, raising not only into being the Republic of the United States, but with that, and for that, maintaining the possibility of a similar "nation making" for the rest of the world.

The author shows throughout the remainder of the book, how New England fulfilled its mission in supporting the "English Idea." The current of events chosen to illustrate this ceases in 1689, because then, when New England had perfected the idea, it was forcibly repressed by her being made a royal province and being subjected to royal governors like the other colonies. This however gave her an opportunity of diffusing that idea secretly but certainly, until gathering strength by this very repression, as well as a tremendous vantage ground for putting forth its power, it sprung simultaneously into self-assertion from Virginia to Maine. A study of "The Beginnings of New England" will furnish us with such a clear view of the beginnings of our revolutionary struggle for "taxation and representation" that our study of that great struggle itself will be enhanced by a deeper interest, and will result in a more profound appreciation of its significance in the history of human kind.

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THE SABBATH IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND,  
By Alice Morse Earle. Charles Scribner's  
Sons. New York, 1891.

Any study of the Puritans has great fascination, but especially one which, steering clear of any discussion of what was peculiar in their religious beliefs and system of doctrine, seeks to bring them nearer to us in a

picture of their life and manners. Mrs. Earle has undertaken to do this as applied to a single day—the Sabbath—and from church records, newspapers and all manner of contemporaneous sources, has brought together a body of facts which vividly illustrate the character of this peculiar people. Her point of view is the external one—the “looker on”—and the meeting house, the forms of worship, the psalm singing, the social “nooning,” and all the curious observances and ceremonies of the day are described to us. We shall, later, speak more at length of this most interesting book.

“THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.” Decisive Events of American History. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 50c.

The story of the battle of Gettysburg is one that has been told more often than that of any other one of the great battles of the civil war. In the present case it is told as one of a series of the “Decisive Events of American History,” and the narrative, considering the limited space given it, sets out the facts with admirable clearness and an evident wish to be impartial.

The conclusion gives the keynote of the book: “Gettysburg made no reputations on either side. It may have destroyed some illusions in regard to the invincibility of Confederate generals. Victory restored to the Union soldiers their feeling of equality—their morale—and that was no small thing.”

#### NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

At the November meeting of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, Prof. Wm. Carey Jones read an interesting “Journal of a United States Soldier in California in 1846-47.”

The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, held a monthly meeting on November 3d. Some exceedingly interesting old Spanish documents were read by Col. George Butler Griffin. These will be issued by the Society early in the ensuing year.

The New Haven, Conn., Historical Society is to have a building of its own, erected by the generosity of Mr. Henry F. English. Mr. English is the only child of the late Gov. English, and the building is also intended as a memorial. Gov. English was for a number of years President of the Historical Society.

The Wayne County Historical Association, Richmond, Ind., had a meeting on November 11th. A resolution was passed, thanking

Mr. Webster Parry for his efforts and success in procuring the ancient records of Friends' meetings in North Carolina.

The Chicago Historical Society, Ill., held its thirty-fifth annual meeting on Nov. 17th. President E. G. Mason announced that by their next annual meeting they would have a new home. The Society has \$130,000 in the treasury and would erect a fine building.

The Harford Historical Society, Belair, Md., held its annual meeting on Oct. 30th. Dr. Forwood was elected president, and A. P. Silver secretary.

The Westboro Historical Society, Mass., held its annual meeting on Oct. 3d, and J. A. Fayerweather was elected president, and C. S. Henry secretary.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Newburyport, Mass., was held Oct. 30th. Wm. Little was elected president, and L. B. Cushing corresponding secretary.



The Secretary of the Old Colony Historical Society, Taunton, Mass., sends the quarterly reports of their last three meetings. They contain quite full accounts of the proceedings of those meetings, and the accessions to the library of historic gifts. A notice of the meeting on Oct. 15th was given in our last number.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held a meeting on the 12th Oct. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Justin Winsor, and others read papers. An elaborate paper was read by C. F. Adams on the site of Westons's plantation, in Weymouth, which was shown to be the first settlement in Massachusetts Bay. G. L. Lowell was appointed to prepare a memoir of James Russell Lowell for the Society.

The Shepard Historical Society, Cambridge, Mass., held its annual meeting on Nov. 17th. Rev. Alexander McKenzie was elected president, and Frank Gaylord Clark secretary. Dr. Griffith spoke of the influence of Holland on our Republic.

The Oneida Historical Society, New York, held a quarterly meeting on Nov. 10th. It was announced that S. N. D. North, of Boston, would deliver the annual address in January.

A meeting has been called to organize the Yonkers, N. Y., Historical Society. A committee of five was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws.

The New York Historical Society, New York, held its eighty-seventh anniversary meeting on the evening of Nov. 17th. President John A. King introduced President Low, of Columbia College, who delivered the anniversary address. It was a political contrast between the New York of 1850 and the New York of 1890.

H. W. Caldwell, secretary of the Nebraska

State Historical Society, Lincoln, sends the following note:

"The Nebraska State Historical Society, after several years of discouragement, is apparently on the way to the fulfillment of its mission. The liberality of the State Legislature of 1891 has enabled it to provide for the publication of some of its papers, and also to arrange for opening the library for consultations. At present the library consists of something over 4,500 books and pamphlets, most of these obtained within the last six years. The Society sustains a severe loss in the resignation of its secretary, Professor G. E. Howard, who has held that office since 1885. The Society owes much of its progress to his unfailing energy and enthusiasm."

The annual meeting of the Hunterdon, Historical Society, Flemington, N. J., was held on Nov. 17th. Edward M. Heath was elected president, and Elias Vosseller corresponding secretary.

The Salem County Historical Society, Salem, N. J., which has a large collection of old parchment deeds is soon to receive the original parchment deed of the whole of West Jersey, from the Duke of York to William Penn. It was found among the papers of the Riley family, and presented by Joseph Riley, of Woodstown.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society have been holding some interesting meetings, at which Mr. Peter Lynch has read a series of papers on Halifax in the olden time.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Alleghany, is awakening to a fresh interest in historical matters through the leadership of such men as Hon. C. S. Fetterman, Rev. Father Lamburg, Prof L. H. Eaton, and others. A spirited and interesting meeting was held on the 19th inst. Papers were read by Mr. Thos. Hooper, and Father Lamburg.



The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I., had a meeting on Nov. 17th, at which Record Commissioner R. O. Swan, of Massachusetts, gave an interesting address on "A Commission on Public Records; Its Work and its Possibilities."

The South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, is exhibiting great energy in its endeavor to gather all documents that illustrate the history of counties and families, as well as matters relating to its own general history.

The Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, held a meeting on Nov. 10th. Judge Lea read a memorial paper on the late Col. W. B. Reese.

The Washington State Historical Society,

Tacoma, has issued, in pamphlet form, a statement of its organization and purposes, prepared by Secretary Hobart. Its call says: "Washington was thirty-six years a Territory, and has been two years a State. Its early pioneers will soon pass away, and the story of their careers, and the traditions of settlement and progress, will be unrecorded unless reduced to history before the actors are gone."

The West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society has just made its quarterly report through its secretary, Prof. Virgil A. Lewis. From this it appears that they have a very large and important collection of war manuscripts which have not yet been catalogued or classified.





John F. Dillon.